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REGIONAL AFFAIRS

Regional Character of Kurdish Problem Analyzed

93AE0587A London AL-HAYAH in Arabic 27 Aug 93
p 18

[Article by As'ad Haydar]

[Text] During a quick meeting with Jalal al-Talabani and Mas'ud Barzani not long ago, al-Talabani asked me: You Arab nationalists, what have you offered to your Kurdish brothers? Isn't it time that something is done? I answered al-Talabani: You, Kurdish brothers, what do you want? Determine your objectives so that we know what to offer you and how far we can go along with you. So, will you (al-Talabani and al-Barzani) determine for us whether the Kurds are one cause or several causes?

Responding with the swiftness of a battle-seasoned man, Mas'ud Barzani said: Ours is one cause and not several causes. The skilled politician and expert on alliances and their timing, al-Talabani, replied: We are both one cause and several causes?

This old, yet new stand is still current in all the situations, particularly when the sound of guns, both fire guns and word guns, grows louder. What makes this matter even more important and calls for dotting the i's and crossing the t's, is that such talk has shifted from apportioning blame to that of putting the past on trial in order to condemn the present. It also means shaping the future on the basis of misrepresentations that would lead to indulging in a series of imaginary wars in the wrong place and definitely at the wrong time. [as published]

Undoubtedly what the brother Kurds said about retrying Salah-al-Din al-Ayyubi Saladin who saved the Arabs from the Crusaders but ignored or betrayed the Kurds, thus keeping them scattered, oppressed, and unjustly treated people, is folkloric. One of these trials takes place during the Nowruz celebrations, which is one of the Kurds' biggest and most important holiday. Such talk reaffirms what has already been said and is becoming more persistent regarding the need to subject the Arab-Kurdish reality to a realistic and frank discussion in order to lay the ground for a dialogue that would serve the Kurdish brothers and make them real brothers, rather than enemies hiding their enmity for temporary tactical gains.

Recapitulating on the Kurdish problem, we would recall that geographically the Kurds are distributed among five states with the following percentage:

- The Soviet Union 1 percent
- Syria 5 percent
- Iraq 18 percent
- Iran 24 percent
- Turkey 52 percent

(The source: TIME magazine 15 April 1991)

Obviously, the real presence of the Kurds, both in terms of population and geography, is in Turkey. Therefore, the Kurds' problem is not with the Arabs as many of the Kurds, and especially the educated ones, portray it. Nor is

it with the "brother Arabs" who divided them and dispersed them and did not allow them to stay in their state, Kurdistan, in response to the just Kurdish demand. Going even further, some people have been blaming the Arabs since the Ottoman state was dismantled, as if the Arabs themselves were not subjected to the Sykes-Picot scissors that shaped them into entities.

The issue begins with Iraq, which reversed the Kurds' problem with the Arabs. The Kurds are right in complaining bitterly and painfully about what Saddam Husayn and his regime have done to them, beginning with mass expulsions and ending with the Halabjah crime [of using chemicals against the Kurds].

But Saddam Husayn's injustice should not be apportioned as if what he has done was only against the Kurds. The fact is that, since he assumed power, Saddam Husayn treated all the Iraqi people's factions equally in terms of religions and national affiliation. He was not more unjust toward the Kurds than he was against the Arabs; and he was not unjust toward the Sunni more so than the Shia. With this equality in injustice he sought to serve his own agenda whose failure has brought Iraq to its present state.

Another basic point that needs to be discussed frankly concerns the Kurds themselves. The Kurds in Iraq, although they were the vanguards in claiming their rights, whether through small wars or big ones, obtained from Iraq what nobody else could obtain, specifically from Turkey. They might not obtain it even over a sea (or river) of blood in early next century.

Putting aside the Iraqi regime and Saddam Husayn himself, the autonomy agreement which came into effect on 11 March 1974 (although it remained mostly ink on paper) gave the Iraqi Kurds rights which, if merely mentioned in Turkey would be considered national treason, punishable by death. These rights include recognizing the Kurdish language and the Kurdish culture and allowing the Kurds to administer their own affairs. These rights (although many of them are still ink on paper) grant the Iraqi Kurds an entity and an existence that should make them stop complaining about "Arab injustice" towards them. Instead, they got involved with various alliances, one time with Israel and another time and constantly with Washington via Tehran. All this has unfortunately been happening, as the Arab nationalists and non-nationalists see it, through exploiting Iraq's weak flank in Grand Kurdistan, and dealing more blows in the hope that this would lead to severing a portion of Iraq in order to establish the desired state there.

Let us look at Turkey. Indeed it is the heart of the Kurdish problem. If it were not the heart of this problem, conditions would have been suitable after the Gulf war for Kurdistan to secede from Iraq and establish a Kurdish state, but the fear for Turkey and its future has put a stop to this operation.

Had the situation been brought to a conclusion by a swift surgical operation, the establishment of Grand Kurdistan would not affect Armenia or harm Syria, but it would definitely lead to Iraq's and Iran's suffering a "permanent"

disability. But it is quite clear and without any question, it will directly lead to incapacitating Turkey and turning it into a Turkey that we have never known before. It will suffer a permanent mutilation, like having its feet amputated and put in a wheel chair. Therefore, Turkey as it is now is necessary for the Western strategic security. Therefore, it should be looked after and the Kurdish designs should stop.

The West, which views the Kurdish problem in Iraq as a crime against humanity, turns a blind eye to the crimes being committed against the Kurds, or the "mountain Kurds" as they call them. The Turkish regime since Kemal Ataturk and up to this day spared no efforts in committing injustice against the Kurds. Like Saddam, it expelled them from their villages, set villages on fire, and burned civilians alive in main squares. This is documented by the Kurdish Research Center in Paris and was discussed in an editorial in the LE MONDE a few days ago.

Yet we find Jalal al-Talabani and other Kurdish leaders recruiting Peshmergas in order to fight their brother Kurds in Turkey's Kurdistan, so that Ankara will not be upset. And all this is happening in the name of "necessities and tactical alliances."

It is the right of the Arabs, particularly nationalist Arabs, to ask their Kurdish brothers: Why do you ally yourself with Israel and with other parties when Iraq is being targeted, and why does your alliance with the Turkish forces against your brother Turkish Kurds become legitimate and a duty? This means that the Kurds are several problems and not just one.

There remains the question of Salah al-Din al-Ayyubi, his trial, and the accusation of treason. And so all the talk about the "hero of Hittin," who defeated the Crusaders, seems insignificant and does not relate to him or to his position. Briefly put, the Kurd Salah-al-Din led the army of Muslims in order to deliver the Muslims and their countries from the Crusaders. The euphoria over the historical victory does not change anything of the reality. When he led the Islamic army to Hittin and achieved victory he did not ask any of his soldiers or officers whether they were Kurds or Arabs or any such question. Rather, he saw in them fighters who came to restore the freedom and dignity of the people in this area.

Salah-al-Din al-Ayyubi did not ask his officers and soldiers whether they were Kurds or Arabs. He did not ask the Kurds to stand on his right and the Arabs on his left. He led everybody to victory, and he won. If his image today is on the minds of the Arabs generally, it is because they are suffering from coercion and injustice that might not be similar to the conditions that our forefathers experienced during the era of Salah-al-Din, but will certainly lead to similar results.

We are now trying to summon the spirit of Salah-al-Din al-Ayyubi who never failed to implement his plan to liberate the nation and to fight against the injustice and harm which this nation suffered because, first, he is the symbol of unity and, second, because he is the triumphant commander.

We say: Let us first unite, but be free of the desire to dominate or tend toward domination. They, the Kurds, have their rights, and they must be realized and protected, but not always at the expense of the "weak flank."

ALGERIA

Kebir on Position Toward Algerian, French Government

94AF0031A Paris LE FIGARO in French 17 Nov 93 p 5

[Interview with Rabah Kebir, spokesperson for FIS (Islamic Salvation Front) abroad, by Jean-Paul Picaper; place and date not given: "Kebir Says 'France Must Come to an Understanding With Us'"; first paragraph is LE FIGARO introduction]

[Text] According to Kebir, law-abiding states should support the FIS in its struggle to "install democracy in Algeria." He calls on these states to denounce a government that "practices torture and violates human rights."

The Special Court of Algiers, sitting in Medea (south of the capital), has sentenced to death some 37 Islamists—30 of them in absentia—for offenses including the murder of 21 people and the attempted sabotage of the natural gas pipeline between Algeria and Italy, the official news agency APS announced yesterday. The court also has decreed sentences ranging from three years' imprisonment to life in solitary confinement against 63 other Islamist activists.

[Picaper] What is your reaction to steps taken recently by the French Government against members of the FIS [Islamic Salvation Front]?

[Kebir] The Government of France is sovereign on its own territory. That is perfectly clear. But everyone must act in accordance with the law. Here in France, it took several days to ascertain the accusations being made against our brothers and our community. I have spoken with their lawyer, Mr. Verges. There is no evidence against these men.

It's a political show, staged by Interior State Minister Charles Pasqua and certain French politicians in an effort to help the Algerian military junta. Such behavior is not right for a country like France that believes in human rights. Day after day those rights are being trampled underfoot in Algeria by the worst of military dictatorships. I appeal to the French Government to verify for itself what its interior minister is doing. The political class in France should take action to stop support for this military dictatorship and these violations of human rights.

[Picaper] You have called on the French Government to come to an understanding with you, the FIS. What kind of accord?

[Kebir] It is in the best interests neither of France nor of the Algerian people and the FIS for so much bad feeling to come between us. This is why we are asking the French Government to come to an understanding with us, the Algerian people, to support installation of democracy and respect for human rights. To begin with, the systematic practice of torture in Algeria should be denounced.

We are asking your government, your politicians, your intellectuals to do this. The Algerian people don't understand why the free world remains silent about this torture. Is it because we are Muslims?

[Picaper] According to rumor, it was by torturing an accomplice of the captors that the Algerian police finally succeeded in freeing the French hostages...

[Kebir] No, that's not true. We have not received any such report. We don't know who abducted the three Frenchmen. Were they Islamists? Were they military security agents who took them hostage in order to give Paris a pretext to take action against FIS sympathizers in France? All we can be sure of, based on the information we have received from Algeria, is that the captors of the two men were surrounded by the police. But there's no way of knowing whether it was Islamists or policemen who were surrounded by the police. As for Mrs. Thevenot, she was freed by her captors, whose identities are still unknown to us.

[Picaper] Do you disapprove of hostage taking?

[Kebir] I am absolutely against it. On numerous occasions we have issued appeals not to attack or harass foreigners in Algeria, be they Frenchmen or nationals of other countries. Our battle is against the dictatorship, and we urge the free world to side with the Algerian people.

[Picaper] You told the Spanish newspaper EL PAIS that if you were a Spaniard or Frenchman, you would get out of Algeria. Do you still stand by that statement?

[Kebir] It is not out of fear of the Algerian people that Spaniards and Frenchmen should leave Algeria, but for moral reasons. I don't want their presence to give comfort to the dictatorship that is oppressing the Algerian people.

[Picaper] So you disapprove of violence against foreigners. But do you sanction the assassination of a dozen renowned Algerian intellectuals?

[Kebir] Good sir, on this subject we too make some distinctions. The Algerian people do not attack an intellectual simply because he is an intellectual or because his ideas run counter to those of the FIS. Everyone is free to think whatever he wants. But if someone goes over to the dictatorship's camp, justifies the tortures inflicted on the people, and spies on the population, he is doing evil. And so the people take their revenge. Two weeks ago, security agents disguised as bandits abducted Dr. Boudjalkha, a world-renowned mathematician. They also tried to kidnap another scholar, Dr. Habib Addam, at his domicile. But neighbors sounded the alarm, and they fled. Boudjalkha was released after several days of terrible torture. And that mathematician was not even politically involved. Today, anyone is liable to be tortured.

[Picaper] The regime of the shah of Iran was accused of practicing torture. But afterward, the Khomeyni regime tortured and killed in the name of Islam. Would an Islamist Algeria be any different?

[Kebir] I have been saying for months, and so has Abasi Madani (editor's note: historic leader of the FIS, currently

in prison): Algeria is not Iran. Algeria, like any other people, has its own exegesis of Islam. Our guide is the Prophet Muhammad, who condemned the torturing of human beings for any reason.

[Picaper] You have accused the Algerian Air Force of using napalm. Where and when?

[Kebir] Two months ago at Jigel, in eastern Algeria, and at Tizi-Ouzou.

[Picaper] If you came to power, would you tolerate a political opposition, including the FLN [National Liberation Front]?

[Kebir] Yes, doubtless. Naturally we seek to institute a government based on Islam, but one that is derived from the will of the people.

It would be a parliamentary system, since that is the only one deriving from popular choice. Thus there would be an opposition.

[Picaper] But what if the people changed their minds five or 10 years down the road—would you accept alternation?

[Kebir] I am for popular choice because I myself have come from the people. I can tell you that the Algerian people and Islam are one and the same. They cannot be separated. Governments, however, can change. If the people decide to elect Rabah Kebir...

[Picaper] As a deputy?

[Kebir] I was a candidate for deputy. But if the people elect someone else five years from now, I will respect that decision.

[Picaper] Would you allow French to be taught in the schools?

[Kebir] (Laughs) I know how important that is to you. I want the school children to learn a dozen languages. My own children are learning German, French, English, and Arabic. Our prophet has said everyone should make his son learn foreign languages. We realize we are living in the 20th century and need to master Western science. We cannot do so without learning the languages.

[Picaper] Algeria's prime minister, Redha Malek, has asked Germany to prohibit FIS members in exile from making inflammatory statements. What do you plan to do?

[Kebir] In my view, the Algerian Government is a military dictatorship, built on the annulment of elections. They are putschists, and it is only natural I should criticize that government.

German jurists have assured me that as an applicant for political asylum, I enjoy the freedom to express myself.

So I will continue to criticize the Algerian Government. Like France, Germany is a state of law.

[Picaper] Would your Islamic state be a state of law, with an independent judiciary?

[Kebir] For us that is the most important point. At the time of Caliph Omar, a dispute arose between Ali, who though

not yet caliph was nevertheless a powerful personage, and a Jew living in a certain Islamic country.

Caliph Omar decided in favor of the Jew and against Ali. The law is consubstantial with the Islamic state. It is more important to guarantee people's juridical rights than their political rights, since as you know the political environment can change.

Refugee

Rabah Kebir fled to Germany after being sentenced to death by the Special Court of Algiers for alleged participation in an August 1992 attack at Algiers airport in which eight people were killed.

Two months ago the court in Munich rejected Algeria's request for Mr. Kebir's extradition.

The German court held that the evidence furnished by Algeria did not constitute sufficient proof of Kebir's participation in the attack. A member of the FIS directorate, he is also a professor of physics.

ONS 1992 Economic Aggregate Statistics Reported

94AF0029A Algiers *EL WATAN* in French 18 Oct 93
p 3

[Unattributed article: "Statistics on the Recession"]

[Text] In the public sector, according to the ONS [National Office of Statistics], 1992 industrial production was down 2.2 percent from 1991. This figure, somewhat short of the target set in the 1992 national plan (which had projected 0.6 percent, or essentially flat growth), signifies persisting constraints on industrial activity.

Statistics for 1992 are notable for the relatively low level of production in fourth quarter, with manufacturing industries declining 13 percent from the same quarter in 1991.

Hydrocarbon industries in 1992 produced close to 51 percent of capacity, down from 1991, while investment in industrial enterprises remained low, below 1991 in real terms. Capital goods declined as a share of total imports from 33.5 percent in 1991 to 29.3 percent in 1992, based on imports for the first nine months of last year.

Nonhydrocarbon industrial production in the last few years has seen declining rates of utilization: 65.1 percent in 1988, 56.8 percent in 1989, 56.6 percent in 1990, 53.9 percent in 1991, and 50.7 percent in 1992.

Industrial activity in 1992 was notable for significant distortions in rates of growth, but the overall trend was downward, despite good performances in selected sectors.

The hydrocarbons sector had a growth rate of close to 1 percent from 1991, which represents an apparently temporary slowdown in expansion explained mainly by the reduction in refinery production (-0.3 percent), especially during the fourth quarter (-6.7 percent from fourth quarter 1991), and the modest growth in gas liquefaction (1 percent in 1990 [as published]) compared to 1990 (8.4 percent).

Posting a high growth rate (5.4 percent) in 1992, the energy sector, and more particularly the electricity production sector, nevertheless grew more slowly than it has in recent years (8.5 percent in 1991).

After poor performance in 1991 (-0.83 percent), the mines and quarries sector showed a significant increase in production, which rose 4.5 percent from the 1991 level.

This positive trend could be seen in every branch of activity with the exception of salt extraction, which dropped nearly 5.7 percent in 1992, despite the net improvement shown in the third and fourth quarters (+22 percent in fourth quarter), which ONS believes reflects real recovery in that sector after a poor performance in 1991.

Consumer prices rose 31.8 percent in 1992 over the previous year, thus aggravating the problem of inflation.

Under the combined impact of relatively free prices and economic recession, with the dinar being devalued almost 97 percent in 1991, prices have almost doubled in a three-year period (1990-1992), according to ONS, which estimates that 73 percent of prices were decontrolled as of 1992, compared to 10 percent in 1989.

From 9.3 percent in 1989, the inflation rate climbed to 16.7 percent in 1990 and 22.8 percent in 1991 before soaring to 31.8 percent in 1992.

Price inflation has affected all products, says ONS, although the impact was most clearly visible in the food sector, affecting all social classes but especially low and middle income households—the social safety net "not being fully operational."

Consumer food prices rose dramatically in 1992, while prices for manufactured nonfood goods remained at close to 1991 levels. Under the combined impact of price liberalization and devaluation of the dinar, prices for these products, which represent more than 50 percent of household expenses, spiralled up substantially.

The highest inflation was seen in industrial food products, where prices shot up as much as 61 percent.

In fact, prices in the agrofood category doubled by comparison to 1990 levels, and in 1992 the increases in this sector were responsible for 72 percent of all the inflation.

According to ONS, this increase was the result of removing price supports on a number of products late in second quarter. In 1990, agricultural produce was sold for three times as much as industrial food products.

On the other hand, prices of nonfood manufactured goods remained stable in 1992, while services rose faster, by 3.5 percent.

Aggregate consumer prices rose by 31.8 percent in 1992, pushing inflation to the highest level seen in recent years. Most affected were products in categories where prices were liberalized.

In 1992, these categories represented 73 percent of consumption, compared to only 10 percent before adoption of the 1989 price law.

EGYPT

Saudi Financing of al-Azhar Activities Announced

93LD0040A Cairo AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic
22 Sep 93 p 6

[Article by Basyuni al-Hulwani: "\$150,000 From Saudi Arabia To Support al-Azhar's Activities"]

[Text] His Eminence the Grand Imam Shaykh Jad-al-Haqq 'Ali Jad-al-Haqq, the shaykh of al-Azhar, received \$50,000 from the Saudi ambassador in Cairo yesterday.

The money is the first installment of a \$150,000 Saudi contribution to al-Azhar, its faculties, and institutes in response to a recommendation by the Islamic Summit Conference held last April in Karachi, Pakistan.

In delivering the money, the Saudi minister plenipotentiary expressed his country's esteem for the mission of al-Azhar and its scholars and its efforts to spread the Islamic call inside and outside Egypt.

Expressing his thanks and appreciation for the support of the custodian of the two sacred mosques, [King Fahd], for al-Azhar, His Eminence the Grand Imam said: "Preaching work in the Islamic world needs more support in order to confront the existing shortfall in this activity and provide for Islamic people that need teachers, Islamic books, and academic and missionary institutions. These people are in pressing need of more material support."

At the press conference he held yesterday that the Saudi minister plenipotentiary attended, the Shaykh of al-Azhar added: "Al-Azhar hopes for more coordination and support among bodies engaged in the Islamic call and more support from other existing bodies, because it is a collective task, not the task of a single body."

Foreign Observers Comment on Badr Military exercise

93AF0837B Cairo AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic
12 Sep 93 p 7

[Article by 'Ali al-Safti]

[Text] Arab and foreign delegations have praised the standard of the Armed Forces and their good performance in the major "Badr" exercise.

Colonel Hasan Jazza', the head of the Kuwaiti military delegation said: What I have seen since the beginning of the exercise Badr and up to this moment make me call it the "Second Badr" because the first Great Badr happened during the time of the Prophet, prayers and peace be upon him.

What I have seen, he added, is a source of happiness and joy. This is not surprising on the part of the Egyptian Army whose efficiency and capabilities are well-known throughout history.

He said: All the displays presented by the forces during the exercise confirm the great advance achieved in the mobilization and administration fields. We hope that all the Arab forces will adopt this method.

The head of the Kuwaiti military delegation said that, on the basis of his observation of world armies, the Egyptian Army is keeping abreast with those armies, despite the limitations caused by lack of resources. Still, it maintains this course because it always tries to overcome all its difficulties, thanks to the resourcefulness of the Egyptian commander who is always characterized by broadmindedness, farsightedness, and reliance on precise planning.

Col. Muhammad 'Ali Harbi, the head of the Saudi military delegation, said: The operations we saw on the practical level today confirm the great capabilities and the superb planning of troop landing, mountain combat, and tactical protection. Such success is not surprising on the part of the Egyptian Army that has been famous for many years.

Col. 'Ali Rashid, the head of the United Arab Emirates delegation said: I have been highly impressed by this exercise, particularly by the level of tactics and good planning in all the stages. The performance of the forces has been excellent.

Col. Muhammad Zahir, the head of the Omani delegation, said that the Egyptian Army is a source of pride for every Arab. The Badr exercise has proved this and confirmed the ability of the Egyptian Armed Forces to use all their weapons—land, air, and air defense weapons—with great efficiency and excellent ability.

Col. [?Kushernitu], the head of the Turkish military delegation, said: On the basis of our observation I can say that everything seemed to be well planned and organized. I was highly impressed by the close coordination between the air support forces, fire support, and support weapons as well as of all the branches and units participating in the exercise.

He added that as a land-force officer he is familiar with the difficulties involved in coordination between all these units and branches of the armed forces.

Col. 'Abdallah Yusuf Malak, a member of the Kuwaiti military delegation, said: Our presence in the midst of our brothers is a continuation of the era of cooperation between the Egyptian Armed Forces, which played an effective role in the liberation of Kuwait, and our forces. An exchange of expertise took place during the exercise, especially since Egypt has long experience in wars. This has been an opportunity to gain experience and to benefit from it within the framework of cooperation between the two sisterly countries.

With regard to the display of the crossing exercise, he added, I was pleased to see this practical implementation. The speed by which it was carried out shows the high-level training of the Egyptian Armed Forces. This adds strength to Arab nations and armed forces.

Staff Col. Muhammad Ibn-Zahir from the Sultanate of Oman said: I was pleased to witness the crossing exercise, which was a rerun of what happened in the 1973 war. The Egyptian fighter has proved that he enjoys a high-combat ability. Coming from the forces that have offered and are still offering a great deal every in all parts of the world, this should not be surprising.

Brig. Gen. Mahmud 'Arif from the Hashimite Kingdom of Jordan said: In this exercise we have felt that we are brothers and we have common future. We have benefited from what we saw in this exercise, which is an addition to our Arab armed forces.

What took place during the exercise today was like a real war. The participation of all kinds of weapons, equipment, and forces is a source of pride in the Egyptian armed forces. This is not surprising on the part of Egypt, for it had carried out this under enemy fire in 1973 with little loss of life.

Opposition Party Head on Vice Presidency

93AF0837D Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 30 Aug pp 1, 3

[Article by Mustafa Kamil Murad: "The Vice President and the Political Situation"]

[Text] Article 139 of the Egyptian Constitution provides that the president of the republic has the right to appoint one vice president or more, to relieve them of their posts, and to determine their jurisdictions. Some of the Constitution's articles refer to the duties of the vice president but do not specify such duties. Rather, they refer to them in general terms. The source of this authority is the president of the republic; i.e., he assigns to his deputy whatever tasks he may deem necessary. Article 82 of the Constitution provides that if a temporary hindrance arises that prevents the president of the republic from carrying out his responsibilities he will assign the vice president to act on his behalf.

But Article 84 of the Constitution says that in case the post of president becomes vacant or he becomes permanently incapable of carrying out his duties, the speaker of the People's Assembly assumes the post temporarily. If the Assembly is disbanded, he will be replaced by the chairman of the Higher Constitutional Court, on the condition that neither will be nominated for the presidency, as Clause 2 of Article 85 provides, until the vice president assumes the presidency temporarily pending judgment passed on a charge of high treason against the president of the republic or of committing a crime, on the basis of a proposal submitted by at least one-third of the People's Assembly members. The indictment shall be passed by a two-thirds majority, something that is almost impossible to achieve.

On the basis of this, we draw the following conclusions:

First: The appointment of one vice president or more is optional for the president of the republic and not obligatory as it is in the case of appointing the prime minister, his deputies, the ministers, and their deputies (Article 141).

Second: It is the president of the republic who determines the responsibilities of the vice president or vice presidents and relieves them of their posts. This means that the vice president, like that of the ministers, is appointed and relieved of his posts by the president of the republic.

Third: The vice president, if there is one, has no jurisdiction other than acting for the president in case of a

temporary hindrance that prevents the president of the republic from exercising his authority.

Briefly, there is no justification for the appointment of one vice president of the republic or more under the present Constitution, particularly since President Husni Mubarak did not wish to use his right to appoint one vice president or more. Rather, during the past 12 years he remained without a deputy, thus exercising his constitutional right. We believe that the new constitution could provide for the election of a vice president along with a vice president who would automatically resume power in case the president is temporarily absent. He will assume the presidency until the expiration of the president's term, in case the post of president of the republic becomes vacant, or the president will be permanently incapacitated.

Representative Voices Opposition to Religious Parties

93LD0040C Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 30 Aug 93 p 2

[Second part of interview with Court of Appeals Judge Edward Ghali al-Dhahabi by Hanan Muhammad; place and date not given: "Yes, I Am Against Forming Religious Parties"; first five paragraphs are AL-AHRAR introduction]

[Text] Last week we published the first part of an interview that the religion page held with Court of Appeals Judge Edward Ghali al-Dhahabi, a member of the People's Assembly who won an Islamic prize for his study on "The Treatment of Non-Muslims in Islamic Society."

He stated that history proves that non-Muslims enjoyed all rights appointed for Muslims. What is more, Islamic rule allowed them to practice the actions and conduct permitted by their religious codes, even if these actions were contrary to Islamic law—for example, wine drinking, which is forbidden in Islam, but merely disapproved of in Christianity.

He stated that the greatness of Islam lies in its having brought general principles, without becoming involved in details.

Judge Edouard al-Dhahabi stated that episodes of sectarian strife have no connection to religions; it is a problem of extremism, something not limited only to Muslims.

This is the second and final part of our interview with him.

[Muhammad] Do you approve of the formation of a religious party?

[Al-Dhahabi] The political parties law (No. 40 of 1977) in its fourth section specifically forbids forming parties on any class basis, or on the basis of discrimination by sex, origin, religion, or belief. In light of this provision, it is impossible to form a party on a religious basis. I support that.

[Muhammad] Does this mean you are against forming a special party for the Copts?

[Al-Dhahabi] In fact, what most angers the Copts is talking about them as a separate class or sect. The Copts have been

and are an integral part of the fabric of the Egyptian people. So a Coptic party is not in the Copts' interest; indeed, they shy away from it by nature. There was an unsuccessful attempt in the early fifties of this century, when a Coptic lawyer founded an association he called the Society of the Coptic Nation. Its announced goals called for reforming the Coptic Church, aiding the needy and unemployed, and giving sound guidance to Coptic youth. All of these were social goals to which no one could object. However, the Interior Ministry learned later that the association had departed from its announced goals and had begun working to achieve secret goals. The most important of these was to establish a Coptic state by using armed force. Its slogan was the mirror image of the Muslim Brotherhood's—"The Gospel is our constitution, Coptic our language, and death for the sake of Christ our highest wish!" The slogan of the Muslim Brotherhood was, "The Koran is our constitution, the Prophet our leader, and death for the sake of God our highest wish!" This association abducted the then Coptic patriarch, Amba Joseph II, and threatened him with death. The perpetrators were arrested and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. It should be noted that this association received no support from the mass of Copts, who instead combatted it. When the association was dissolved, an objection to the dissolution was raised before the Cairo lower court. It happened that the court division that examined the objection was the division before which I handled government cases examined before the court. I presented the government's case, supported the dissolution decree, and I presented the documents that had been obtained. They proved that the association had diverged from its announced principles. I presented two memoranda defending the government on the matter. The case ended with the withdrawal of the association's objection and the upholding of the Interior Ministry's dissolution decree. Thus any Coptic sectarian bloc, whether in the form of a party or a political association, is utterly rejected by the Copts, as indicated by the story of this association that the Copts themselves opposed.

So my advice to all who combat national unity is to read the history of Egypt and absorb its lessons well. They will find that the Egyptian people, Muslims and Copts, are one people, one race, one present, and one destiny.

Ways To Combat Terrorism on All Levels Suggested

93AA0173A Cairo UKTUBAR in Arabic
29 Aug 93 pp 16-18

[Article by Khalid Hamdi, Mustafa 'Ali Mahmud, and Salih al-Fityani: "In Wake of Escalated Acts of Terrorism, How Can Police and People Confront Difficult Task"]

[Text] Terrorism continues to fire its bullets, explode its bombs, and lurk for our past, present, and future. It is still an unwelcome guest in a society that has experienced nothing but security and safety for years. Is terrorism the

responsibility of the police alone or has the time come for both the people and the police to confront this terrorism? How?

How can we fight the destructive scheme that targets all of us, none excluded? How can we mobilize the people to confront it? How do we develop among people the true sense that they are a main defense line against terrorism.

These are the questions, and here are the answers some people have offered:

Dr. Muhammad 'Abdallah, the People's Assembly Foreign Affairs Committee chairman, believes that if we want to fight terrorism, then we have to work at two levels. First, domestically: we must create a decisive popular position in which all the people's factions, with their various political affiliations, participate to stand in the face of this imminent danger that poses a threat to Egypt's security. Moreover, the security agencies must be supported and backed because they will not be able to confront this terrorism by themselves. It is also necessary to provide these agencies with the resources they need to perform their role in the desired manner.

Dr. Muhammad 'Abdallah added, "We must also prevent terrorists from influencing the youth and exploiting the problems they are experiencing in order to attract them to the terrorist ranks. We must do this by launching a large-scale media and party campaign, along with a sound religious enlightenment campaign from mosques and schools. We must also work to develop prompt solutions to problems experienced by the youth, especially the unemployment problem, so the youth will not turn into terrorists."

Dr. 'Abdallah has further added, "At the foreign level, the entire world must confront firmly the countries that finance and assist terrorist activities and that permit terrorists to use their territories for training and for planning terrorist operations. These countries must be confronted and the necessary laws must be issued to compel them to extradite terrorists they have in their territories to their native countries."

By Right Only

Major General Jamal Rabi', the Egypt Party chairman, asserts that terrorism is a general social problem based on intellectual domination—domination achieved by drumming faulty concepts into the ears of the youth, by planting these concepts in their minds as the concepts of jihad for God, and by permitting youth to take away life, and God has forbidden taking away life except for what is right.

Rabi' added, "Terrorist crimes have spread throughout the world and not just in Egypt, especially in light of the worsening economic conditions and of the absence of national dialogue on these conditions. All of this turns hired terrorists into prey for those who pay them to defend a certain philosophy, especially if this philosophy is ideological. In this case, the terrorist is given a justification to commit his criminal act."

"Recently, terrorism targeted a major figure who, in our opinion, is one of the most capable and noble figures to assume leadership of the Interior Ministry. Everybody knows who Hasan al-Alfi is. He is a pious and righteous Egyptian who has performed his duty as honestly and sincerely as possible throughout his life."

"To me personally, this crime is a crime aimed against all the Egyptian people and not just Hasan al-Alfi, and I mean all factions and sects of the Egyptian people."

Rabi' also believes that to confront terrorism, it is necessary to take important steps that go beyond what we hear about official symposiums to which nobody listens or responds. He has said:

"A broad dialogue must be held with all political forces and it must culminate in a working plan to which all parties contribute to confront this heinous crime that has begun to proliferate and assume serious dimensions."

"The people will then find themselves confronting, through political parties and forces, an issue that concerns their security, stability, economy, and future. The terrorism wave will then recede and disappear altogether. It is also essential to keep official figures, except for a few who are liked by the public, away from this plan."

Africa's Gate

Mustafa Kamil Murad, the Liberal Party chairman, believes that efforts to fight terrorism must be made within a comprehensive national plan shared by the Interior Ministry and the intelligence and state security agencies on the one hand and the Awqaf [Religious Trusts] Ministry; the venerable al-Azhar; the Education Ministry; the heard, read, and seen media; and popular parties, associations, unions, and organizations on the other hand. All these parties must work within the framework of a plan that has its own policies, goals, components, and public budget and through which every party's duties and tasks are defined. These duties and tasks begin with tracing the sources of terrorism abroad and asking the UN Security Council to issue firm resolutions against terrorism-exporting countries. They include encouraging citizens to report on terrorist dens wherever they happen to be and allocating big financial rewards for whomever helps arrest a terrorist. These duties and tasks culminate with a serious role that must be performed by the Education Ministry to guide and educate the youth, especially teenagers who are psychologically susceptible to brainwashing. This education should be provided in weekly lectures at all schools and universities. The lectures should explain the Islamic shari'ah principles, how the shari'ah deals, the Muslims' relations with non-Muslims, and other vital religious issues that fortify the mind against radicalism and terrorism.

Murad also asserted that some international policies seek to contain Egypt's role so it will only get so big, considering that Egypt is the Arab world's heart and the gate to Africa.

Dr. Muhammad 'Usfur, al-Wafd Party Higher Committee member, believes that in order to confront terrorism, we have to boost democracy and respect liberties so the citizen's affiliation with the government will grow stronger

and so he will contribute to confronting these outlaws. The state must also confront terrorists wisely and rationally and not with retaliatory reactions so that anarchy will not develop in society.

Age of Decline

Dr. Rif'at al-Sa'id, the [National Progressive Unionist] Grouping Party assistant secretary general, has said, "Terrorism is a criminal act emanating from an intellectual position. Without a philosophy and without a certain ideological charge, one cannot persuade a human being to commit such crimes. Terrorism begins intellectually. Therefore, it must be fought intellectually. Here, we must review our entire communication with the public. We communicate with the public through specific instruments, of which the most important are television, followed by radio and the national press. I believe that we haven't yet mastered the art of influencing the public positively through these communication instruments. Inversely, I assert that we are responsible for proliferating terrorism through these channels. If the media create a television star through which they invade the Egyptians' minds, homes, and even bedrooms and then this star, who has become influential through television, proceeds to say something that absolves radicals and terrorists and supports their positions, even protects them from any punishment, then how can we ask the public to sympathize with us and not with the radicals?"

"This is just an example of what happens on television. There are other examples on radio, in the press, and in the educational process also!"

"So we have prepared the public from the start to sympathize with radical philosophy."

"But the public is smarter than we are and it has discovered that radicals are its foes and the country's foes. Thus, the public has taken honorable positions in Zaynhum and in al-Sharabiyah. Through this position, it has made terrorists experience the taste of painful Egyptian punishment."

Dr. Rif'at al-Sa'id further added, "It is very difficult to call for developing a sense of security among the public. [sentence as published] Else, one will not be able to walk safely in the street. Our main problem is that we have to redirect our communication with the public and we have to free this public of anything that can implant in mind and heart the seeds of radicalism that make heart and mind accept Islam-coated terrorist ideas."

"The public is prepared to reject all these Islam-coated tendencies. All we have to do is provide the opportunity to organize, mobilize, and stir the public. The battle we are waging is a battle for Egypt, for its future, and for preserving the civilized gains Egypt has spent 150 years molding into a constitution, positive law, party pluralism, democracy, free press, art, literature, and music.

"Our society might be somewhat deficient and it may not please us, but we still defend and develop it at the same time."

"As for the pseudo-Islamists [al-muta'aslimun], they want to erase this page and to return to their beautiful dream, i.e., the hateful age of the Ottoman caliphate under which Egyptians experienced the ugliest forms of persecution under the guise of Ottoman Islamism. This is the age that we, who are specialized in history, call the age of decline."

"Therefore, Egypt is prepared to confront the pseudo-Islamists. The blame for any flaw in this preparedness can fall on the shoulders of officials who confuse the public with a their own pseudo-Islamism, which rivals that of the radical Islamists."

Small Details

Journalist Kamil Zuhayri divided terrorism into three stages: prior to the assassination of Faraj Fudah, terrorism assumed a sectarian character and then a tourist character. After execution of the latest death sentences, terrorism assumed the form of suicidal attempts aimed at prominent statesmen.

Zuhayri has stressed the need to pay attention to small details on the Egyptian scene, where negligence is proliferating and laxity is widespread. The current traffic system, which promotes the commission of crime and helps camouflage and escape, must be reviewed. The kiosks that dot the streets must be removed. All vehicles parked for long periods on both sides of a street must be checked. We should note here that most terrorists rely on these vehicles for their operations. The latest such operation was the attempt on the interior minister's life, in which a motorcycle was used.

Streets must be secured because they are the places where terrorist operations are likely to be carried out, whether against tourists, citizens, or public figures. Streets must be made secure, especially around curbs where vehicles have to reduce their speed, thus becoming an easy target for grenades and bullets.

Zuhayri also believes that confrontation against as serious a phenomenon as terrorism must not be confined to just the social, economic, religious, and political aspects. It must be comprehensive, beginning with the source.

He has said, "I don't wish to embark on a discussion of the security plans here. But I wish to emphasize at the same time that it is legitimate to confront crime at the source. The United States resorted to such confrontation when it noticed that drugs were proliferating dangerously among the people. It has gone to the source—to Colombia where the farms and the gangs that export drugs to the United States are found and it has dealt with them with an iron fist."

"The terrorism problem we have is similar to the drugs problem the United States has. Both problems are based on exportation. Some Arab and Islamic countries, who are known to us, sponsor and export terrorists to us after they are trained and prepared at the highest level. These countries must be confronted in one way or another so that Egypt will be protected from terrorism as the United States has protected its people from drugs."

Perfect Manner

Dr. Ahmad Shalabi, Islamic culture professor at Cairo University, believes that if we want to wipe out terrorism, then we must take two major steps: first, exert serious and prompt efforts to examine the roots of the unemployment problem, to find out how it can be tackled, and to eliminate it. Thus, young people will not find on their hands the free time that pushes them toward these terrorists and other bad company. Employed youth aren't as susceptible to the danger of these terrorists.

Dr. Shalabi added that the second important step in confronting terrorism is to try to revive the enlightened Islamic thought that teaches these young people that Islam is a tolerant and ethical religion that makes its followers feel that their property, their lives, and their honor are secure, and not the religion of betrayal that these terrorists embrace. To revive this enlightened Islamic thought, the media must support enlightened ulema so the message can be performed perfectly.

Effective Role

Dr. Jihan Rashti, the Information College dean, believes that the fight against terrorism begins by removing the terrorists' control over schools so terrorists will not attract young school students and so we can prevent them from interfering in the citizens' personal life. We have heard that terrorists have volunteered to drop in at homes in poor neighborhoods on the pretext of urging children to be religious. Mosques must also resume performing their genuine role as places of worship and prayer only, considering that terrorists have used mosques as places to scheme their terrorist acts. This role can be resumed by enabling the Awqaf Ministry to establish its control over the mosques and to follow up on their activities so as to block the path in the terrorists' face.

Dr. Jihan Rashti has added that the Egyptian media should also play a major role in confronting terrorism by increasing the doses of objective information they provide and by avoiding bias in their news coverage of terrorist events. The facts must be fully revealed. The media must also play an influential role in developing the citizen's sense of security by advising the citizen as to what to do if he finds a strange object or if he feels the presence of a suspicious character. They should also advise the citizen how to act if there are casualties.

Excluding!

Poet Faruq Jaridah asserts that the terrorism phenomenon is alien to Egyptian society by virtue of the political and social makeup and circumstances of this society, at least in our modern history—excluding some incidents that Egypt experienced in the 1940's. This phenomenon must be confronted firmly by the security authorities as long as the terrorists have taken up arms and threatened the citizens' security.

Poet Faruq Jaridah sees that the security solution alone is not enough to solve this problem and that we must find out the causes of this phenomenon and must try to deal with these causes. In Jaridah's opinion, the primary cause is the

political vacuum on the Egyptian political scene. All parties, none excluded, have failed to perform their required role to attract young men to their ranks. Consequently, the youth have been abandoned to be an easy prey for these terrorists. The second cause is the religious vacuum that has allowed some adolescents to interpret the Koran, to preach in mosques, and to explain religious issues as they wish. The third cause is the economic problem. What is most dangerous about this problem is the unemployment ghost that pursues millions of young men on the Egyptian scene and turns them into an easy prey for any intellectual. The fourth cause is the intellectual vacuum that is embodied in the emergence of this rash of base arts, which have corrupted Egyptian art. These base arts have given some voices the opportunity to say that art is proscribed.

Extreme Failure

Kamil al-Bitar, deputy chairman of Voice of the Arabs Network, has said that to fight terrorism prominent imams, clerics, and intellectuals should proceed to the Egyptian scene to confront the faulty ideas of these terrorists and to expose them to the citizens. The masses must also take part in confronting terrorists firmly and everywhere because terrorists are the enemies of civilization and culture.

Al-Bitar believes that the media's role has been extremely deficient because "these media should have confronted these terrorists' lies and fabrications long ago. Moreover, the parties have also failed in their role. They represent no political weight on the Egyptian scene, have left the arena vacant, and have given terrorists the opportunity to operate."

Effective Participation

Dr. Shawqi al-Sayyid, an appeals attorney, stresses the importance of cooperation between the police and the people, asserting that the people must realize how serious is the issue and must contribute effectively and positively to exposing this scheme that targets all of us.

Dr. al-Sayyid demands that a national plan be drawn up urgently to discuss youth problems and to exert efforts to solve them immediately so that our young men will not become an easy prey to the destructive terrorist schemes.

Artist Mahmud Mursi has emphasized the need to devote social, educational, religious, and economic attention to the inhabitants of the unplanned population centers which are considered dens of terrorism and terrorists.

Mursi also stressed that the media need to make the people aware of the important role of cooperation with the police to fight this serious phenomenon that threatens all of us.

He also underlined the need to organize educational training programs for young people to explain to them sound religious concepts, which are tantamount to an impregnable fortress against terrorist ideas. On the other hand, Mursi stresses that it is necessary to listen to and debate the terrorists' viewpoint.

Swift Justice

Former Irrigation Minister Engineer Ibrahim Zaki has emphasized that the government cannot do everything by itself and that security men need popular support in order to fight terrorism. The media must also assist in fighting terrorism by explaining the danger of terrorism and how to confront it and by encouraging people to confront terrorism everywhere.

Engineer Ibrahim Zaki added that sentences should be issued quickly on terrorist cases so that these radicals will get their punishment. The government must also pay attention to furnished apartments now that it has been confirmed that they harbor numerous outlaws. The government must also develop the unplanned population centers because they produce terrorists and radicals.

Easy Prey

Dr. Inshirah al-Shal, a professor at the Information College, believes that to confront terrorism, there has to be collective movement in which the government, with all its agencies, participates with the parties and all the people's factions to confront the terrorists, to try to guide them to true Islam, and to correct their faulty ideas.

Dr. al-Shal has also said, "We must devote social, political, and economic attention to young people so that they will not be left an easy prey for radicals. We must also work to strengthen relations between the police and the people so they will stand together to confront terrorism and expose its ugly face. The media must provide enlightenment and must present the full facts on this terrorist activity that exists on the Egyptian scene now."

Periodically!

Dr. Mahmud Sa'adah, the Scientific Research Academy deputy chairman, has stressed that it is essential to arouse security awareness among all citizens through the media so that citizens will report any suspected persons. He also stresses that it is important to examine and apply the furnished apartments law, and to make a count of such apartments so as record information on their inhabitants and to check up on them periodically.

Security Forces Blamed For Spread of Crime

93LD0040B Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 20 Sep 93 p 5

[Article by 'Ismat al-Hawwari: "These Are Responsible for Crimes"]

[Text] Those who allege that the increase and spread of crime are the responsibility of the security authority alone are wrong. For the criminal commits his crime in the dark, far from any eye observing him; he would not commit it under the ears and eyes of the police. But this does not mean exculpating the security authority and placing it outside the circle of responsibility: for security is respect, before it is fear; and there is no respect for an ignorant, miserable, worn-out policeman. Nor is there any respect for him if he is not a good model of commitment and piety. The newspapers frequently inform us about crimes committed by police. It is unimaginable that crime should be

committed by a person responsible for combatting it. So people have the right to ask whether the police had not better change their own attitude so that God can change what is in us!

The Ministry of Education is likewise responsible for the poisoned climate in which we live; for the days are proving that the educational policy is hopelessly incapable of educating our youth. Let us ask its minister about the number of religious classes taught at all stages of education. There are only a meager number of classes at the first stages of education; then they decline precipitously and disappear at the university. So our young people have abandoned and forsaken religion. They graduate from college into general life and find a society that forbids the permissible and permits the forbidden. Society permits alcohol, although the Koran forbids it; it also permits gambling, although the Koran forbids it. Permissible and forbidden have come to turn in a context of what positive laws decree, without God's shari'ah!

The Egyptian family is also responsible for the increase of crimes we are experiencing and is a partner in all that is occurring. Fathers' oversight over their children has disappeared, and the family has adopted the licentiousness of Western civilization. You can see the head of the family unperturbed if his daughter wears wanton clothing that reveals her charms. He does not become angry if his son comes in late at night. He asks neither of them whether they pray. So the family has abandoned the precepts of heaven and allied itself with the corruption of Western civilization. All this proves that the conduct of the Egyptian family has contributed to the climate we are experiencing.

The information media—and what shall teach you what are the media? They, too, are responsible for corrupting our young people. Although television is a means of civilization that ought to be used to advantage, it is a good conductor of every evil. It is eager to broadcast news about beauty queens. Most of its programs encourage decadence. All the films it shows corrupt the minds of youth: some are about drugs; others are about sex and fallen women; others portray criminals as brave, alcoholics as cultured, forbidden kisses as licit, adultery as legitimate, and drug use as a civilized luxury!

The Ministry of Culture is also responsible for the licentious reviews produced by Hell's henchmen that it presents in cinemas and theaters. So the hearts of our young people burn with lusts, hatreds, and urges. Honor has no existence, dignity no importance. Not a word is said about values. Behold our streets flooded with a morass of advertisements for ministry-approved films—advertisements that trifle with morals, insult honor, destroy chastity and purity in children's minds, and make every teenage boy and girl drool. Let the ministry take note that if the law punishes stealing money, it should punish even more those responsible for stealing minds and trifling with the sacred things of Islam!

Our society wants to allow every man, woman, and child to mix on the buses. It does not get angry about bestial

contact between women and men in a vehicle transporting them. Nay, it is a society that helps the commission of the crime!

People! Nothing is easier than making a law or changing and amending its provisions. But know that not by law alone will the matter be remedied. Let us all begin by changing what is in ourselves, so that God will answer our prayer that He change what is in our people!

The heart of the matter: The constitution and the people who are overwhelmed! The betrayer and the betrayed! Freedoms that a ruler has destroyed in the name of the constitution! I hate a big deception called the constitution!

The greatest of all victories is the victory of one who controls himself. If one controls oneself, one has won a victory for one's fellow men.

Investment Initiatives in Hala'ib Cited

93AF0837A Cairo AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic
4 Sep 93 p 6

[Article by Ahmad Gharib]

[Text] The distribution of 410 bedouin houses to the people of Shalatin, Hala'ib, and Abu Ramad is to begin soon. The houses will be given free in order to settle inhabitants of the area and provide them with health services.

The houses are provided with schools, educational institutes, al-Azhar educational schools, and an Islamic center. Some 50 million pounds have been allocated for investments this year in order to develop the area and provide an infrastructure for it.

Hazim al-'Abid, head of the Central Authority for development, said that a comprehensive study has been prepared in order to develop the area into a center of residential attraction and of bedouin settlement.

He said 10,000 donums will be planted with trees. A study is being conducted with the aim of bringing the Nile water directly into the area from Nasir Lake along the 290-km-long Aswan-Shalatin axis. Engineer Yusuf 'Abd-al-Muttalib, in charge of development of Hala'ib, said that two water desalination plants have been installed in Shalatin and Abu Ramad each with a 500-cubic-meter output.

Also six other desalination plants will be installed in the three towns by the end of this year with a capacity of 3,600 cubic meters daily, including two in Abu Ramad, two in Shalatin, and two in Hala'ib. Water tanks will also be built and projects for sewage drainage and roads will be launched. There will also be a complete planning center for the villages and towns. Touristic chalets will also be built in Abu Ramad.

He said two power generation plants with 625-kilovolts capacity will be built in order to feed the three towns. This is in addition to the building two plants in each town with 2-megawatts capacity.

Official Announces Plans for Uranium Production*93AF0837C Cairo AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic
7 Sep 93 p 5***[Article by Muhammad 'Asim]**

[Text] Dr. Nabil al-Hadhiq, head of the Atomic Energy Authority, said that four locations of granite rocks have been discovered and designated for the first time in Sinai and in the eastern desert. The rocks contain 15,000 tons of uranium for which production will begin at the end of the present five-year plan, which ends in 1997.

He said that work on those locations has been going on for more than 15 years, during which time more than 70 locations were discovered in various parts of the republic. Infrastructures, including plants, research units, and equipment have been installed near those locations during this time.

He added that there is no alternative to utilizing uranium, now that it is being employed in all peaceful aspects of life, including treatment in hospitals, fertilizing agricultural land, operating turbines for electric power generation. Egypt's electricity production does not exceed 60 billion kilowatt hours annually, while a nuclear reactor can produce 600 megawatts with the power of 100 tons of uranium.

He said that Egypt so far did not produce any uranium. Uranium production no longer poses a danger after adequate safety measures have been created.

He said that the whole world now uses uranium in all fields of life. According to IAEA [International Atomic Energy Agency] estimates, the world oil deposits will run out within 30 years, natural gas within 45 years, and coal within 200 years, while uranium deposits are sufficient to last 500 years on the basis of current utilization.

He said that while search for uranium is being carried out, the Authority has been producing other minerals, such as rutile, which is used in manufacturing steel rods, paints; monazite that used in manufacturing floor materials; and zircon in manufacturing ceramics.

He denied that Egypt came under foreign pressure over the production of uranium, stressing that the IAEA only wants to know the magnitude and quantity of produced uranium and how it is being used.

IRAQ**Muslims Called To Resist New Crusade Waged by West***93AE0622B Baghdad AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic
28 Aug 93 p 1***[Editorial: "We Will Defeat Enemies Through Solidarity Between Fighting Islam and Arabism"]**

[Text] While we celebrate the birthday of Muhammad, the great apostle, may God's peace and prayers be upon him, major questions that have to be raised during major

transformations in mankind's history are revived so strugglers can get hold of extra intellectual weapons with which to bolster their genuine bases of faith.

Today, while our Arab nation and our great Islam are experiencing most difficult circumstances and most serious challenges that pose a threat to the survival of Arabs and Muslims and to their values, faith, and future generations, we are required to answer this questions: what role should Islam and Muslims play?

Before we answer, we must note the most important facts in our situation and in world conditions. The Soviet Union's collapse has eliminated a most significant barrier which restrained, whether directly or indirectly, the dangers of the western and Zionist hostility to the Arab nation and Islam. The West's hostility, especially U.S. hostility, to Arabs and Muslims surfaced most obviously and dangerously when the U.S. position matched the Zionist hostility to Arabs and Islam.

What Muslims are subjected to in Iraq, Palestine, Somalia, Lebanon, Algeria, Bosnia, and the Central Asia republics is not confined to racial discrimination and religious bias, but includes plans for mass annihilation of Muslims, their religion, their future generations, and their accomplishments. These plans remind one of the crusades. Rather, they are even worse than the crusades insofar as types and dimensions of crimes are concerned.

It suffices to remember two crimes for which the United States is directly responsible: the crime of striking Iraq and imposing a criminal blockade against 18 million people—a blockade which includes drugs and food and causes the death of numerous children, women, and old men daily. The second is the crime of desecrating Muslim sanctities directly and intentionally, as in the scheme in which Muslim women are raped in Yugoslavia as a means to liquidate Muslims there. According to UN reports, a total of 63,000 women have been raped there.

The West's criminal acts, led by the United States, are a serious threat to Arabs and Muslims and to their values and human existence. Therefore, it is the religious duty of every Muslim who is proud of his Islam to fight the new crusade of annihilation; to confront the United States and its criminal schemes; and to embrace new holy jihad criteria.

For Islam to become an influential and decisive jihad force capable of upturning the world's current fragile balances, we must declare today, and not tomorrow, Islam as a religion of jihad against the United States and its lackeys, and we must expose those who use Islam for cover. We must identify and isolate them so we can purge Islam of the evils of their lackey regimes.

By transforming Islam into a united jihad force in which lackey shaykhs have no place and through solidarity between Arab nationalism and Islam, we can turn back the most dangerous crusade and we can ensure the sanctity of God's religion and the future of Arabs and Muslims under the slogan of "God is great," which has been raised by Leader President Saddam Husayn, commander of the

corps of faith and purity. Other Muslims will rally behind this slogan so that the dawn of Arabism and Islam will arrive and so that Zionism and secular Western crusaders will be defeated forever.

For a fighting and steadfast Islam, we stand behind President Saddam Husayn, our beloved leader and descendant of the pure Muhammadan tree. He is the great hope, the great model, the thinking head, and the director of the noblest and most dangerous survival battle.

Citizens Complaint Leads to Fines by Oil Ministry

*93AE0621A Baghdad AL-THAWRAH in Arabic
30 Aug 93 p 4*

[Text] The Oil Ministry inspection authorities have recorded a number of violations in the sale of oil by-products by some 25 distribution agents in several provinces. The agents were fined 12,300 dinars[ID] for violations that occurred during the first half of this month.

This came in a statement to AL-THAWRAH by Oil Minister Usamah 'Abd-al-Razzaq al-Hiti. He said: As a result of complaints by citizens over unequal distribution of oil by-products and tampering with the distributed quantities, a number of inspection squads were sent by the Oil Ministry, whose task is to make surprise inspections of gas stations and to record violations in the sale of oil by-products. The squads were able to record violations by a number of agents who tampered with the quantities of oil allocated for sale to citizens. The agents were fined sums estimated at ID100 to ID1,000.

The minister said those fined will receive a double fine in the case of a repeat violation by the same agent. As for the other agents, should they be again found in violation of the law, strict measures will be taken against them. The objective is to provide ample supplies of oil by-products for the citizens and to ensure that there is no tampering with quantities.

The gas stations that were inspected by the Oil Ministry squads were: al-Tahrir, Ba'qubah, al-A'zamiyah, al-Qaysi, Habhab, al-Mashtal, al-Dawrah, Umm al-Qura, al-Falujah/4, al-Sabah, al-Ahrar, al-Yasiri, Old al-Falujah, al-Falujah/22, al-Salih, al-Ikhwan, al-Jabhah, Abu-Shihab, and Hamurabi.

Minister Attends Command and Coordination Meeting

*93AE0621B Baghdad AL-THAWRAH in Arabic
27 Aug 93 p 4*

[Text] Continuing the Golden Hawk II exercise, fighter General 'Ali Hasan al-Majid, a member of the Revolution Command Council [RCC] and minister of defense, for the third consecutive day today visited al-Yarmuk forces command and attended the conferences on command and coordination.

At the beginning of the program, fighter Staff Major General, director of combat development (deputy director

of the exercise) reviewed the operations to be carried out by the al-Yarmuk command in its operations sector.

The fighter staff major general, in charge of commanding the al-Yarmuk forces, held two command and coordination conferences successively. These were attended by division and services commanders and the corps section. He began by reviewing for his staff the nature of the terrain and the enemy situation.

The corps commander issued his detailed orders to those carrying out the operation and heard from them details of their plans to perform their task.

The two conferences were marked by discussions and extensive mobilization debates in which the fighters minister of defense and the Army chief of staff and his aides made corrections to the projections of the officers undergoing training relevant to their plans.

The discussions sought to focus on the question of the correct application of plans based on acquired field experience with a view to achieving the objective with minimum human and material losses.

At the conclusion of the discussions, fighter Gen. 'Ali Hasan al-Majid, RCC member and minister of defense said: One of our first duties while attending mobilization exercise is to evaluate views of the field commanders and to provide them with feedback, after making their decisions so that we may pinpoint for them what is right and what is wrong. The number-one objective is to learn and to develop as well as to save our men's blood on the battlefield by absorbing the lessons learned with pure blood that was shed in the al-Qadisiyah battle, Saddam's glorious battle, the great battle, the mother of all battles for the sake of development and progress of our valiant army.

The exercise was attended by fighters director: of the Army Air Force, several field commanders, and comrade Assistant Secretary of the Socialist Arab Ba'th Party in the al-Yarmuk military branch.

On the other hand, fighter Staff Gen. 'Ali Hasan al-Majid, RCC member and defense minister, met with the fighter major general, commander of the al-Yarmuk forces and heard him give a briefing on the nature of training of units and the progress they have made so far.

The fighter defense minister stressed the need to continue the struggle of our valiant army in the present conditions of the unjust blockade imposed on our people, by tapping latent and creative abilities and exploiting them to the maximum, coupled with Iraq's propensity to manage in difficult times. This would enable us to translate President Saddam Husayn's message into practical things. We must continue to work in order to strengthen our army's combat ability and to defend the great Iraq and fight against all kinds of aggression.

The meeting was attended by fighters Gen. Iyad Futayih Khalifah, the Army chief of staff, and his aides for operations and training, the director of the Army Air Force, and comrade secretary of the Socialist Arab Ba'th Party in the al-Yarmuk military branch.

Koranic Teaching Program in Schools Explained

93AE0623A Baghdad AL-IRAQ in Arabic
28 Aug 93 p 5

[Article by Sahib Kamar: "In Enactment of Leader Struggler Saddam Husayn's Directive, Religious Campaign To Teach Honorable Koran Continues"]

[Text] Iraq is witnessing ceaseless activity to implement the national religious campaign to teach the Koran, beginning with the first elementary class and up to the sixth preparatory class, in implementation of the directive of His Excellency Leader President Saddam Husayn, may God keep him. Moreover, there is a directive to allocate one television hour daily to instruct the citizen in reading and understanding the Koran and the dictates of the faith. AL-IRAQ has observed some aspects of this religious campaign.

Television Series

Dr. Hasan Khattab, dean of the Educational Training and Development Institute, has said:

"The Educational Training and Development Institute is witnessing, in its capacity as one of the establishments concerned with implementing the national campaign to teach the venerable Koran, an activity that isn't confined to this tendency to starting courses for teachers and instructors in all of the country's governorates. The activity goes further and includes developing television programs, for which television has allocated one hour daily.

"This hour, whose allocation has been ordered by His Excellency Struggler Leader Saddam Husayn, may God keep him, is intended to bring success to the religious campaign to teach both recitation and meaning of the venerable Koran and to plant the Koran's sublime behavioral values in the souls and conduct of students. Teachers and instructors are the groups targeted by the [television] lessons. However, this doesn't prevent citizens generally from benefiting from the contents of these lessons on the principles and rules of recitation, interpretation, and inflection."

Khattab added, "We are currently working to produce two types of programs: the first containing the instructions and opinions of a number of people concerned with and specialized in teaching and explaining the Koran. The second type contains lessons for students according to the established curriculum. The purpose of this type is to help teachers and instructors perform their tasks in a better manner. Moreover, students and viewers generally can watch these programs and learn from their content and presentation method."

Evaluation of Courses

Muhammad Raja Shallah, general director of Baghdad-al-Rasafah Education District, has said:

"Several committees have been formed of specialists in Islamic education to select teachers and instructors who meet the standards of righteous conduct, true faith, the

desire to teach, decency, and sedateness so they can take their turn in the training courses to teach and explain the Koran. To date, 50 percent of the general plan has been implemented and we now have two courses for vocational education teachers within the al-Rasafah educational plan. Moreover, university professors have been enlisted to help in this regard. The allocated sums are adequate for the plan. Semimonthly evaluation reports are made for each course and its students."

Ongoing Training

Rustum Funaykhir Sa'id, director of the development and training section in al-Rasafah, said:

"Training is an important element in providing teaching and instructional faculties with new practical skills that are added to their past experiences. The importance of this training is made evident by the sums allocated for this fundamental objective. The section began implementing the first Islamic education training course on 2 May 1993. In June, nine courses were conducted for teachers and four for instructors, covering the first part of the timetable set for this purpose. In those courses, a total of 411 male and female teachers and 148 male and female instructors graduated.

"In July, the section conducted two courses for male and female vocational education instructors. Those courses lasted from 10 July to 9 August 1993 and a total of 71 instructors enrolled in them. The section also implemented the second part of its training plan by enrolling 449 male and female teachers and 223 male and female instructors in similar courses in the month of August. More courses will be conducted for other teachers and instructors wishing to enroll as of 1 September 1993."

Rustum added, "The television hour is considered a form of training that complements what is being done by the Training Institute and by the training and development sections. This hour contributes effectively to acquainting the people generally with this blessed religious campaign. Trainees have proposed that this program be aired after 2000 so it will benefit everybody."

Trainees' Opinions

AL-IRAQ has interviewed a number of male and female trainees who have participated in these courses and has listened to their opinions and proposals. They have stressed that it is necessary to air guided lessons for students. They have also voiced their proposals and their evaluation of the television hour, all with the purpose of developing a balanced and integrated spiritual, moral, social, and patriotic personality among the recipients of these lessons.

Husayn 'Ulaywi Mahmud, an instructor, said:

"We have benefited greatly from the course. However, the course is too long. Guidance can be provided by utilizing the resources that can be secured at schools. Moreover, the training site does not serve the interest of the trainees in our course. The course also lacks educational aids, such as

television sets, recorders, and video equipment. Only theoretical training is given."

"As for the television hour, its lessons are conventional. We wish it were merged with the program "Guidance From the Merciful." I propose that a similar program be aired on the second channel of the youth television. It is also possible to hold special religious contests in Koran recitation and interpretation so that the benefit will spread more widely and become more comprehensive."

Muhyi 'Abbas Hamud, an instructor, said:

"For us, as graduates of the Islamic Theology College, the course is like a review of what one has learned. The course is successful, despite some of the obstacles one encounters, especially in transportation. The television hour would be successful if it weren't for its time, which I propose be 2000 in the evening. I must also note that there should be a prayer place in every school."

Mrs. Nidal 'Ali Kazim, an instructor, said:

"The course is beneficial. Through it, I have been able to gain a great deal of information, which we didn't learn at the school of arts. I propose that a library containing all needed references be established in every school."

"As for the television hour, I don't watch it because it conflicts with my work hours. By the time I get home, which is when the television hour starts, I am too tired. This is why I propose that it be aired at 2000."

Abundance of Interpretation Materials

Mrs. Basimah 'Abd-al-Karim Qadduri said:

"The course is important. Through it, we have become familiar with information we had not studied before, such as recitation, interpretation, and the hadith. But the abundance of interpretation material in the course leads to boredom. Moreover, we receive instruction on some prominent jurists and interpreters, such as al-Zamakhshari and al-Tabari. This is tantamount to secondary information. The course also covers 10 subjects, which is too much for a trainee. I propose that the course be reduced to 15 days and that a lecture last one hour instead of one and one-half hours. I also propose that the emphasis be put on important subjects, such as interpretation, the prophet's hadith, inflection, and recitation. As for the television hour, I propose that it be aired at 2000."

Mrs. Majidah 'Abd-al-Sahib said:

"The course is beneficial and important, and it will help train us teach students how to read and understand the Koran. I should note, however, that the lecture is too long. I propose that it be reduced to one hour so that there will be no boredom. There are obstacles that impede our attendance, including remoteness from the course site and the scarcity of transportation. I suggest that there is no need to take an exam at the end of the course because the exam takes additional time and it is boring and embarrassing. I believe that attendance is sufficient."

"As for the television hour, it would be beneficial if it were slotted for 2100."

Jasim Nusayyif Khammas said:

"The course is necessary for instructors who benefit from the training they are given on the methods of teaching this subject in a way that is compatible with the students' level."

"As for the television hour, it is necessary and important because it spreads religious awareness among all members of society. But its timing is inappropriate because it conflicts with the "Youth Program" on Channel 2. I propose that the program be aired at 2000 and rebroadcast on Channel 2 at another hour so that it will be beneficial."

Successful Religious Course

Khalid 'Ata 'Abdallah has said:

"The importance of the course is that it has helped us return to Islam and adhere to its ethics and morals. For those who wish to participate, the course is beneficial as a refresher course. We wait for recompense to be paid at the right time and for attention to be given to the comfortable transportation of instructors who enroll in the course. The weather is hot, means of transportation are unavailable, and some instructors live far from the training site. These two courses could have been merged with previous courses to make things more comfortable for instructors and to facilitate their travel."

"As for the television hour, I haven't had the opportunity to watch it because it conflicts with the training time. Television's "Youth Program" has a strong impact on this hour, killing interest in it."

Cooperation

Hamid Isma'il Ahmad, a lecturer, has his opinion and said:

"At present, religious courses are serving their desired goals in a manner that befits the requirements of developing teachers and instructors specialized in teaching Islamic education and the venerable Koran. The trainee is provided with the basic skills that make him eligible to perform this sacred message. Cooperation among all parties in society is necessary for bringing success to the national religious campaign, which is led by Struggler Leader President Saddam Husayn, may God keep him, so we will be able to create a society compatible with the sacred Islamic message."

"As for the television hour, I propose that it be aired at 2000 so that most viewers will benefit from it. The emphasis must also be put on setting time aside for religious programs in the 'Voice of the Youth' and in television's 'Youth Program' so that they will contribute to this religious campaign."

Specialization Aspects

Muhammad 'Abd-al-'Aziz, the head of the educational technologies section of the Training and Development Institute, has said: "The production of training programs involves specialized supervisors, educational supervisors, instructors, and teachers in the field of Islamic education generally and the field of teaching and explaining the Koran in particular. This production takes the form of

training lessons and enrichment programs that serve the process of learning. These lessons and programs are produced through meetings with specialists in this field. The production also takes the form of high-level lessons for training leaders in the governorates."

Hour and Its Public

Azhar Jawad, producer of the training and enrichment programs turned out by the said institute, said:

"Programs presented by the educational television are selected by a supervisory committee. When approved, the programs are turned over to a producer to transform the text into visible images. As for the television hour, it targets a certain segment, namely instructors, teachers, and students. These groups and other interested parties should adapt to the program's time."

Reaction to Ambassadors' Defection Called Nervous

93AE0586A London AL-HAYAH in Arabic 28 Aug 93
p 13

[Article by Kamran Qurrah Daghi: "Nervousness in Baghdad"]

[Text] Probably those who had cast doubts on the significance of the defection of the two Iraqi ambassadors to Tunisia and Canada, Hamid al-Juburi and Hisham al-Shawi, did not expect President Saddam Husayn to rush to dispel their doubts.

Two days after the ambassadors' announcement, Saddam Husayn not only praised leaders of al-Juburi's tribe, who sent him a barbaric cable expressing loyalty to him (most probably they had no choice but sign the cable), permitted the shedding of Ambassador al-Juburi's blood, but also urged them to put their words into action, which is tantamount to an open call to kill him.

Baghdad's accusations against its former ambassadors that they are traitors and agents is not strange, but what's interesting is that the Iraqi press showed an unusual interest in the matter, despite the fact that one of the papers described them as "two spent bullets." In fact, this is the first time the Iraqi media reports the defection of a government official, an honor that was not conferred upon three former ambassadors in Washington, Madrid, and Stockholm, four diplomats in Moscow, and two diplomats in Portugal and Australia who defected at various times since the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait.

The newspaper AL-THAWRAH, the Socialist Arab Ba'th Party's official organ, and BABIL, President Saddam Husayn's organ edited by his son 'Addi, devoted several articles and comments to the subject. AL-THAWRAH went even further by publishing a cable sent by those it described as leaders of al-Juburi tribe leaders in Babil province, including Yasin al-Juburi, brother of one of the two ambassadors who defected, declaring their loyalty to the regime and saying that they wash their hands of "traitor" Hamid al-Juburi.

In light of the media interest in the case of the "two spent bullets," particularly after Saddam's furious attacks, the assurances by Iraqi journalists that the regime that was not shocked by 100,000 air raids during the Gulf war cannot be affected by a decision by two ambassadors are unconvincing. What is significant is that BABIL launched a hysterical campaign against the United Iraqi National Congress with whom Ambassadors al-Shawi and al-Juburi apparently decided to cooperate. The newspaper belonging to "al-Ustadh," [the learned—'Udday's official title in Iraq] described the Congress as a "group of turncoats" who recently were joined by two "weakminded persons." AL-THAWRAH considered the two ambassadors as "simply bankrupt outcasts who have no national feelings or honor." They are "slaves," and they can do nothing other than talk like the rest of the Congress members. But if that is the case, why all this nervousness?

Obviously, the Iraqi president's strong reaction is a warning to other ambassadors who might follow the example of al-Juburi and al-Shawi. But one can also presume that the announcement by the two ambassadors that they will cooperate with the National Congress in particular is the reason for this extraordinary nervous reaction in Baghdad. Most probably it was this step that has irked the dictator and alerted him to its possible implications, which drove him to go beyond limits with his clear threats.

Regime Accused of Official Support for Terrorism

93AE0568B London AL-HAYAH in Arabic 30 Aug p 13

[Article by Kamrah Qarah Daghi: "Terrorist Solidarity"]

[Text] The Iraqi and Sudanese regimes have pledged to stand together "in the face of foreign conspiracies and the imperialist-Zionist plans." Both praised one another's solidarity and considered this evidence of the "depth of relations that bind the two sisterly countries." Referring to the U.S. decision to put Sudan on the list of terrorist countries, Iraqi Prime Minister Muhammad Hamzah al-Zubaydi believes that "the conspiracies and pressures to which Sudan is being subjected by the enemies are the result of its nationalist and Islamic stand and its striving to be in control of its national free will."

This is not surprising because both regimes are involved in terrorism. The reason for that is not only because the United States has put them on the list of terrorist countries together with Iran, Cuba, North Korea, Libya, and Syria. For a long time many Arab countries have been complaining about terrorist activities supported by Sudan, whether by helping the fundamentalist movements in these countries or through providing them with shelter and allowing the establishment of training camps on its territory. These activities became dangerous to the point that Egypt, for example, threatened to strike at these camps to exercise its right to self-defense.

On the other hand, it must be recalled that the entire world community officially condemned Iraq of terrorism in Resolution 687, which the Security Council unanimously adopted in February 1991. The Security Council imposed

on it the cease-fire conditions and stipulated when the international sanctions can be lifted. This was because of its aggression against Kuwait, its occupation of the country, and annexing it by force. It is pointed out that one of the conditions of the resolution, which was then described as the "mother of resolutions, provides that the Iraqi regime should publicly denounce terrorism and to stop its support for terrorist activities and organizations.

So far Iraq did not condemn terrorism nor stopped supporting it. In fact, Iraq publicly incites terrorism, sometimes through the head of state, and encourages its actions. Only a few days ago Saddam Husayn called for murdering two former Iraqi ambassadors because they joined the opposition movement.

Before that, the newspaper BABIL, organ of Saddam Husayn and edited by his son 'Uday, said in commenting on the attempt to assassinate Egyptian minister of interior, Major General Hasan al-Alfi, also called for the assassination of President Husni Mubarak and other Egyptian officials, "whose heads have ripened and are due to be cut off," according to an old saying.

ISRAEL

PLO Upper Echelon Profiled

94AA0009E Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew
17 Oct 93 p 10, 11

[Article by Smadar Peri]

[Text] PLO chief Yasir 'Arafat has known throughout the years how to gather around himself a well-educated and talented group, which has handled open and secret contacts for him all over the world. Since the agreement with Israel, they have come out into the open, and now are handling the negotiations with Israel in Cairo, and in Taba.

Let there be no mistake: 'Arafat is the only one who makes the decisions, and anyone who does not bow to his will—is cast aside, as the case of Fa'ruk Kadumi proves. Still, the chief of the PLO is certainly ready to accept good advice or a good idea from his group of "blazers," and they, on their part, are already having their ministerial suits sewn for the Palestinian entity to come.

Yasir 'Abd-Rabbu, Hakam Bal'awi

Right after the first handshake between Prime Minister Yitzhaq Rabin and 'Arafat, Yasir 'Abd-Rabbu could already smile to himself with satisfaction. Not only had his status and his position in the PLO hierarchy not been harmed, just the opposite had happened: from holding the simple title of Information Department Head, he has jumped to third or fourth place in the pyramid.

"Little Yasir," they call him to his face, to emphasize how he has followed Yasir 'Arafat like a shadow for the last five years. Behind his back, they gossip about him and say that he is calculating and ambitious.

'Abd-Rabbu, always in a starched white shirt, is a heavy smoker, to the dismay of 'Arafat, who cannot stand cigarette smoke near him.

Six years ago, after a big quarrel, he resigned from the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, one of the most conspicuous groups in the Palestinian rejectionist camp—and was picked up immediately by 'Arafat.

'Abd-Rabbu's case is testimony to 'Arafat's amazing ability at locating young, talented people and bringing them close to him.

For five years, 'Abd-Rabbu sat in a modest office in Tunis, not far from 'Arafat's house on Yogorta Street. I prepared the information strategy for the chief of the PLO. I built up good ties to everyone who was willing to talk to him. Mainly with reporters," he told us.

The change in 'Abd-Rabbu's status really began seven years ago. He was chosen then, together with Hakam Bal'awi, the PLO ambassador to Tunisia, to be the PLO's representative at the official dialogue with the American ambassador to Tunisia, Robert Pelletreau. Their open meetings were extensively reported in the international media, and Pelletreau sent reports to Washington not only about the content of the talks, but also about the people he talked with. Bal'awi, a native in Kafr Bal'ah in the Arab populated part of the Galilee, was described as a "dull conversationalist," but 'Abd-Rabbu won descriptions like "is open," "understands the gist," and "is sophisticated."

Four days ago, the three were given the news of how they were going to be fitted into the changing political map; Pelletreau was about to finish his service at the embassy in Cairo, 'Abd-Rabbu was appointed number two in the PLO's steering committee for the talks in Cairo, and Hakam Bal'awi stayed home.

Except that Bal'awi had no reason to worry. As a veteran diplomat, and the one responsible for intelligence gathering for the PLO, he knows that he it is necessary to look at not only who is appointed to posts abroad, but also at who the leader keeps at home close to him. The new mission he has been given: to read the reports on security matters that the delegations in Cairo, Taba, and Washington send in.

Bal'awi, short, mustached, quick to smile, is a man of peace.

Ten months ago, when I arrived in Tunis with my colleague Nahum Barne'a, for an interview with 'Arafat, Bal'awi invited us to meet with him as well. "I would like you to get to know me, for you to hear my concept of peace," he explained.

In contrast to 'Arafat, who it is very hard to get a straight answer from on questions concerning the Israelis, Bal'awi presented the world view of someone who has both feet planted firmly on the ground.

Abu-Mazin, Dr. Nabil Sha'th

Undoubtedly, the most interesting figure in the PLO top leadership is Dr. Mahmud 'Abbas, "Abu-Mazin." He and Dr. Nabil Sha'th have won the nickname from us of "the Kabalists from Safed." Both of them were born in Safed

and spent their childhoods there; but circumstances led Abu-Mazin to Beirut and Jordan, and Dr. Sha'th to Jaffa and to Egypt.

Abu-Mazin, they say, is hard to understand in Hebrew and has difficulty with English takes pains to converse in English. This in contrast to the polished fluency of Dr. Sha'th—"the Palestinian Abba Eban—who has jumped from the status of nonmember in the PLO institutions to head of the Palestinian delegation in Taba.

Since the Rabin-'Arafat handshake on the White House lawn, Abu-Mazin has unofficially taken over the number-two place in the PLO. The game that Farouq al-Qaddumi—the official number two—has been playing, with the yes I will/no, I will not accept the Israeli-Palestinian agreement, has already cost him the price of being moved into a position where his status is not clear. Thus, the chief of the PLO has taught a lesson not only to al-Qaddumi, but also to anyone opposing the agreement; anyone who votes against [us] is going to remain outside the picture.

Abu-Mazin is undoubtedly the most senior and important person in the group surrounding 'Arafat. If something bad happens to the PLO chief, Abu-Mazin will take his place. As a Ph.D in the history of the Middle Ages, he is known as someone stubborn and curious. To this day, despite their long years at each others' sides, 'Arafat and Abu-Mazin never stop quarreling. Unlike Nabil Sha'th, a man of compromise, Abu-Mazin hates being dictated to. When 'Arafat tries to exert authority over him, or makes a decision without consulting him, Abu-Mazin is sure to go off and shut himself up in his beautiful house on the outskirts of Tunis.

For years, Abu-Mazin has held the title of "Chief of the Israeli Desk," but has purposely kept meetings with Israelis to a minimum. At one meeting, he explained to me: "I am not interested in getting burned because of meetings with Israelis. Better to let others do that in my place. In any case, I read all the reports."

In contrast, Dr. Nabil Sha'th has clocked up many hours with Israelis over the years. With Knesset member Dedi Tzuqer, for example, he was in daily telephone contact for many long months.

Sha'th, a 54-year-old widower, is not on the list of those receiving salaries in the PLO. Still, 'Arafat relies on him and makes an effort to bring him close to the top. "I have permission to whisper into 'Arafat's ear, and he listens to me."

A week ago, when the lists of members of the two Palestinian delegations to the commissions in Cairo and Taba reached Jerusalem, there were some here who were quick to raise an eyebrow. Nabil Sha'th did not seem to the Israelis to be the right choice to carry on negotiations about the little, tiring details connected with the transfer of authority in Gaza and Jericho. "Is he expert on the routes of the highways? What does he understand about defense matters?" they asked in Jerusalem.

But the appointment of Sha'th shows the differences in approach between the PLO and Israel. In Jerusalem, they are thinking about Gaza and Jericho, while in Tunis they are openly preparing for the establishment of the Palestinian state.

Abu-al-'Ala', Hasan 'Asfur, Sami Musalim

Dr. Sami Musalim, director of 'Arafat's office, has the task of reading the reports that reach the PLO chief. Dr. Musalim is part of the inner circle of those who know the large and small secrets in Tunis. His job also makes him responsible for 'Arafat's daily schedule.

The roles of Ahmad Quray'—Abu-al-'Ala', and Hasan 'Asfur are also strengthening. Both are considered close to Abu-Mazin. They came out of their anonymity only months ago, when the secret channel in Oslo, which Abu-Mazin had been in charge of, and both had actively participated in, was revealed. Abu-al-'Ala' was also the one who initiated the agreement. We may reasonably assume that both have their eyes on posts as economic advisers.

Dr. Hanan 'Ashrawi, Ahmad Tibi

Attention should be paid to three figures from the territories who are filling key roles today, and are very close to 'Arafat's ear: Hanan 'Ashrawi, Ahmad Tibi, and Ziyad Abu-Zayyad.

For reasons not quite clear, Dr. 'Ashrawi's role has been understated until now, for she plays a much greater role than her official position as spokeswoman for the Palestinian delegation.

Like Nabil Sha'th, 'Ashrawi too was recognized, and rightly so, by 'Arafat as someone who had the exceptional talents that it took to run the Palestinian information network.

It was 'Ashrawi who recommended to Dr. Ya'ir Hirschfeld and Ron Pundak that the secret channel should be opened with Abu-al-'Ala' and his colleagues. She knew well about what and about whom she was speaking. She is also a member of the team that advises 'Arafat before each meeting with the Israelis. 'Arafat, it should be emphasized, is studying now, also with 'Ashrawi's help, the Israeli mentality and the right ways to communicate with the leadership in Jerusalem.

Dr. Ahmad Tibi, a gynecologist from al-Tayyibah, who lives in Bayt Haninah today, was fitted into the leadership thanks to his Israeli friends. President 'Ezer Weizman was the one who "invented" Tibi, and fostered him. Hayim Ramon, Dedi Tzuqer, and Yosi Sarid made 'Arafat very aware of the fact that Tibi enjoyed open doors in Jerusalem. The PLO chief needs right now as a go-between. For example, when Rabin wanted to meet with 'Arafat, Tibi was the one who coordinated the meeting.

Tibi, with his untiring ambition, has reaped rewards lately for his efforts. He was appointed 'Arafat's adviser for Israeli affairs, and he will not easily waive his rights when the moment comes to pass out portfolios in the territories.

All of the "blazers" except Tibi prefer—at least outwardly—to present modest fronts. No, they are not asking for portfolios and high-level offices in the Palestinian government, and—yes, they do want to get away from politics and return to their former jobs.

'Ashrawi, for example, dreams of becoming the rector of Bi'r Zayt University and dedicating herself to educating her daughters. Dr. Sha'th wants to go back to running his advertising and book publishing firm in Cairo.

Except that we can imagine that the "law of motion" will be accepted by the whole group gladly. Sha'th, for example, will be happy to "be pushed into" the job of Minister of Housing and Development. 'Abd-Rabbu wants the Ministry of Information and Communications: Abu-Mazin will accept the Foreign Affairs Ministry, and also ask for the title of vice president.

Only the future will tell which of the group of "blazers" will still be at the top once autonomy has begun.

Status, Support for Leadership in Mosad

94AA0009G Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT (*Weekend Supplement*) in Hebrew 22 Oct 93 p 8-9, 26

[Article by Na'omi Levitzky]

[Text] Last week, for the first time in a long time, the chief of the Mosad felt good. Rabin, during his trip to southeast Asia, had gone out of his way to praise him, and so, for a moment, this usually anonymous man was suddenly thrust into the glare of the spotlights. Anyone who expected that he would be blinded by the sudden light was wrong. He did not even blink.

At the end of Papa's business trip, the chief of the Mosad could even give himself a pat on the back. A considerable part of the trip's success had been due to him. A real feather in his cap—a feather he has needed like air to breathe. In a little while, he will have completed five years at the post, stormy and controversial years within the organization.

When Rabin decided to freeze the round of appointments to top defense posts, you could almost hear the Mosad chief's sign of relief. And he knew why. Like the chief of the Shin Bet, he also is directly responsible to the prime minister, and is coordinated by his military secretary. 'Azriel Nevo, the last secretary, left behind a little memento in the form of a time bomb.

Before he left the prime minister's office, Nevo sat down and wrote a report on the Mosad. Nevo reported that the Mosad functioned as though it were a country within a country. Supervision of it and its work was lax in the extreme, almost nonexistent; its methods of reporting need immediate improvement; and coordination between the chiefs of the intelligence branches—i.e., the Shin Bet, Aman (the army intelligence division), and the Mosad—was less than it should be, and often interfered with their work.

Harsh words, that the Mosad has not been accustomed to hearing before this, bold words that led Rabin to assign

Maj. Gen (Ret.) Rafa'el Vardi the job of making a comprehensive inspection, and bringing him conclusions and recommendations for action. On the subject of supervision, Nevo's arrows of criticism were especially sharp.

He told the Knesset subcommittee on the undercover services that more than just once or twice, he has had to call the prime minister's attention to the fact that the Mosad was doing certain things in a way that was incomplete, nonsupervised, and, especially, not coordinated with the other services. The level of supervision and control over the ongoing work of the Mosad, he said, is very low—there is neither direction nor correction.

The chief of the Mosad sat and listened in silence. He is one of that chosen group, of faceless and anonymous men. In strange and unusual places in the world, perhaps they recognize him, but in the heart of Tel Aviv, he can walk around unnoticed. Heads of state know him personally, but in Israel he is absolutely top secret. His name and photo may not be published; therefore, we will call him here, "Sh."

The problem of coordination between the intelligence branches also filled a harsh chapter in Nevo's report. Mosad-Aman relations have always been a source of contention. But it seems that during the term of the present chief, the strident tones have reached new heights. At the beginning of his term, he came up against into Amnon Shahak, and relations between the two grew until they finally reached the level of personal enmity.

Shagai, who replaced Shahak, wanted to open a new page. A practical and down-to-earth man, he was not looking for confrontations; on the contrary, he is very interested in cooperation. Within a short time, he found himself dragged into professional disputes, not always practical or relevant. Aman was in charge of dismantling the Office for the Recording of Vital Reports and gives the government the national assessment. In this sector, the Mosad serves as a subcontractor of Aman, which gives it directions on what to collect.

Sh., it seems, has trouble accepting this situation. They work on similar objectives, sometimes sharing resources, but the interbranch activity is filled with tension. Duplication can be a blessing: "The envy of scholars can lead to knowledge," as our sages said, but, when coordination between the two is creaky, a real problem is likely to be created. And if we can judge by Nevo's report, coordination is creaky, and how!

Even with the chief of the Shin Bet, a man who is easygoing, he has succeeded in ending up in a frontal confrontation. Disagreements between the two on a certain professional question welled up to a point hard to keep within limits. The problem itself was already solved, the prime minister brought in the national examiner, that is, Rafa'el Vardi, but the smell of confrontation is still in the air.

These have not been easy days for him. The dramatic changes in the region, the peace talks, the agreement with the PLO, the changes in relations with Syria, have left him,

how should we put it, a little breathless. He is having trouble adapting, while in the Aman and Shin Bet, they are already working at a thunderous pace, creating new assessments, putting in the changes the new situation requires—but somehow, the Mosad is frozen in place. The status of Aman and the Shin Bet has been strengthening more and more, but the glory of the Mosad is becoming duller.

Sh. is an easygoing, pleasant man for the most part—his speech is gentle and quiet, he is introverted and closed, and says little. In the defense cabinet, they have trouble remembering the last time they heard him say something worth quoting. Sometimes, it seems that he has turned “not speaking” into an art. This characteristic creates a kind of halo of mystery around him. It is not clear to them, to the ministers, whether they are dealing with some sort of sophisticated, “strong silent type,” or with someone who simply has nothing to say.

He is of average height with an athletic build, and is well-preserved for his age, and looks younger than his 54 years. His straight hair, meticulously brushed back, reveals his hair receding sharply on the sides of his forehead, something like movie actor Jack Nicholson. His clothes are always neat, every button exactly in place. A “yecke” [neat, orderly German Jew].

The son of a family with limited resources, he pulled his way to the top with his own 10 fingers. He is what is known as a self-made man. He did his army service in the general staff mobile headquarters, and left with the rank of sergeant. When he majored in Near East studies at Hebrew University, he had to work his own way through by doing odd jobs. Uri Lubrani, then the prime minister's adviser for Arab affairs, hired him for various translation jobs.

He entered the Mosad almost thirty years ago as a junior staff officer. He was not singled out for mention as having leadership potential. He earned a reputation for being dedicated, diligent, disciplined, and thorough. Those who remember him at the beginning of his road, tell how he was always the first to arrive at work and the last to leave.

He moved to the operational realm after a short time, and began to pave his way to the top. He participated in countless special operations in which, they tell me, he demonstrated impressive personal courage. He served as chief of one of the Mosad's most secret units, and as chief of the operations unit. The members would follow him with their eyes closed on a complicated mission, but it is doubtful whether they saw him as the material a Mosad chief is made of.

Former Mosad chief Nahum Admoni, who badly needed a shot in the arm in the operational realm, appointed Sh. to the senior post of coordinator of staff operations for the organization. Something equivalent to chief of the operations department in the IDF [Israel Defense Forces]. Later, he appointed him deputy chief of the Mosad, putting him in the best possible position to make the next leap.

The real battle over who would lead the Mosad after the Admoni era was between Shamir, then prime minister, and Rabin, then defense minister. Rabin wanted to appoint

Amnon Shahak. He felt that the Mosad needed a little shake up at least, if not a complete restructuring. He took a good look around him, and did not see anyone inside the organization who would be capable of carrying out the revolution needed there. In short: he wanted someone of Shahak's calibre.

The Mosad, as organizations of this kind do, stood on its hind legs, and fought like mad against an outside appointment. And Shamir, who saw himself as one of the gang in everything connected with the Mosad, gave in to them and decided in favor of an internal appointment. The natural candidate was, of course, Sh.

Many in the defense system raised an eyebrow then. But Sh. started his term on the right foot. He called his men together and calmed the winds. “We are entering a new era,” he told them. “What was, was. The days when the organization dealt with secondary things is over. From this day on, we will deal only with major things. An investigation will be an investigation, and an operation an operation. And the main thing, appointments will be based strictly on ability.

Nice words, that were accepted in the organization as music to their ears. But as the days went by, the promises melted away, one after the other. No shakeup, no restructuring, and no safeguard. As deputy, he appointed one of the veteran members of the organization. Except for the operational units, still the jewel in the crown, the bow in the cloud, most of his senior appointments looked as though they came from the same closed social club.

If Admoni left the organization a certain feeling of hardening of the arteries, Sh. has not carried out the needed catheterization. His just about hopeless conservatism earned him a seat of honor in this organization, which has always prided itself, and rightly, on its independent thinking, quick reactions, and mental flexibility. Perhaps that is why they have trouble hitting the mark with their political assessments.

During the last elections in the United States, until a really late stage, they predicted that Bush would win. Actually, there were some in the network who read the picture correctly—but their opinions were not accepted. “You are flat wrong,” they told them. The evaluation of Husayn's survival possibilities can be put into the same category. Al-Asad's intention to come to peace talks with Israel were understood by the Aman light years before they understood them. The information they both had was the same, and here, too, there were those in the system who protested.

The Gulf war uncovered a black hole on the subject of Iraq, but only the reports of the U.N. observers showed just how far behind the Mosad had been. Before the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, the Mosad prepared a splendid paper, an ornate book, complete with charts. They love charts so much. Now, they would surely prefer to hide it away, forget it ever existed. It told us that it would be five to 10 years before the Iraqis would have the capacity to launch missiles with chemical warheads. Today everyone knows the truth.

They were late in turning their attention to Iran, and in Lebanon, the Shin Bet has more to show. Economic position papers that were painstakingly written, and whose data was acquired by sophisticated means, are sometimes less accurate than the publicly available publications of the World Bank. They predicted a colossal economic crisis in Jordan, and in Egypt, despite the difficult economic conditions, their black forecast did not come to pass.

The Mosad is a relatively small agency, but the resources it enjoys arouse quite a bit of envy. A yearly budget of hundreds of millions of shekels is at its disposal. When there is a cutback in the defense budget, the storm passes them by, and they stay on dry land. They do not appear in the State budget, they are funded directly by the prime minister's office.

In Aman, they sometimes call them "our brothers, who flatter themselves." Their headquarters is located in a magnificent building. Two years ago, some champion sport team or other visited here. On one of their tours, they noticed a conspicuous building. "What is that," they asked their hosts. The host shot out some sort of answer off the cuff. "We mean that building there, with all the antennas," the guests persisted. The hosts avoided the question and concentrated on the landscape.

They have built themselves a splendid building, and decorated the facade with a sculpture garden. There is a feeling there of space, of travel, of luxury hotels, of being overseas, of what have you. Part of this is necessary, of course, from a professional point of view, but some of it seems to the community as just a pose. Sh.'s office is spacious, comfortable, but not eye-catching. He has a private bathroom. The chief of the Shin Bet, the chief of Aman, and even the chief of staff,—how can we say this delicately—use the same facilities as the rest of the guys.

Over the years, the Mosad has grown fat and bloated. That special intimacy, that special spirit, has given way to a somewhat sterile efficiency. Once everyone knew each other, they would talk in the corridors, in the courtyard. Today, they sit concealed in their rooms before their computer screens, each one engrossed in his own affairs. Sh. brought modern management methods and sophisticated computers into the Mosad. The grocery store has turned into a supermarket, and the human voice has been replaced by the clack of robots. Technology versus human intelligence.

Intelligence everywhere in the world is divided between Elint, that is, electronic intelligence, and Humint, or human intelligence. Former Mosad chief Yitzhak Hofi added an electronics unit to the organization. In those days, that was a great innovation and considered a step upward. When he was just beginning in this job, they used to say that Sh. was in love with electronics, mesmerized by it, and was sinking tremendous resources into it.

These machines really do leave everyone who sees them standing with their mouths open. The pyrotechnics are stunning. But they worried in the Mosad that he is developing electrons at the expense of human intelligence. The Gulf War proved to him that electronic intelligence is not

enough. Even the Americans, with all their supercomputers, satellites, and photography networks, and code-breakers fell flat on their faces. Sh. learned his lesson, and made a serious change in his order of priorities.

With former Prime Minister Shamir, he had a special relationship. They understood each other, perhaps because of their similar temperaments. Both are tough, silent, conservative, and suspicious. Sh. has the characteristics of a Talmud scholar. He is precise and thorough, and he studies. They say that he has exceptional self-discipline. Perhaps the result of the posts he has filled in the past.

Several of the organization's fabulous operations can be accredited to Sh. Even today, he is still involved here and there in operational matters. The mythical feeling about the Mosad is not based on nothing. For every successful operation that has been publicized, there are dozens that have remained secret. Operations in the best of the James Bond tradition, hard for the imagination to even conceive of. They also had a mishap recently, which luckily did not win any publicity.

In the memorial room commemorating the fallen of the intelligence community, there is a curved wall covered with names. The wall curves inward, so that only those allowed inside will see the list of names. Even in their deaths, their names remain secret. There are several names that do not even appear there. For them, danger is a way of life.

When Uri Shagai brought Shamir his evaluation of the new situation with Syria, Sh. disagreed with him. Shagai was the first to understand that Syria was changing direction, the first to recognize the change in al-Asad's stance. Shamir was not an easy client for an evaluation like this. He was more comfortable with the Mosad chief's stand. But Shagai did not give in. He stood his own, whether the prime minister was comfortable with it or not. Sh. dug in with his own position. It took him considerable time to absorb what was happening.

This story repeated itself in the case of the PLO. Again, Aman was ahead of the Mosad; again, there was a tremendous quarrel between the chief of Aman and the chief of the Mosad. This time, though, the client was Rabin. With Shamir, Sh. had a special status. With Rabin, the wheel has turned a little. Although Rabin did not support him for the post, he is still Rabin, and still feels most comfortable with military men around him. With time, he has gotten used to Sh., and learned to admire his good qualities and overlook his weaknesses. Today, they live together in peace.

But in the Rabin era, the positions of the chiefs of Aman and the Shin Bet are growing steadily stronger. The chief of the Mosad is a little overshadowed. Within the organization, the erosion is already beginning to be very distinctly felt, and for the last few months, internal agitation has been growing. The discomfort has also caused some worrisome resignations.

Sh. has decided to go to war. Aman is the national intelligence assessor, but now the Mosad also wants to join in. It also wants to be the national assessor. In Aman, they

consider the Mosad's assessments are pathetic at best, and they say that its forecasts remind them of weather forecasts.

After the Yom Kippur war, two more groups received a mandate to assess diplomatic trends. In the Mosad a research unit was set up, and in the Foreign Affairs Ministry, the existing branch was strengthened. This was the time of the flowering of the group of academics, of Ph.D's and MA's who were absorbed into the work. But the national assessment continues to be supplied by Aman.

In recent years, Aman has strengthened its research branch beyond recognition. It has become one of the most advanced professional intelligence arms in the Western world. Alongside it, a control entity has been established, meant to provide an opposite assessment and support it. This entity serves as the devil's advocate. The art of working by comparing opposite views has turned a work instrument in Aman, and internal professional disputes have become something that furthers security. One standard for the Mosad's research methods, and another for Aman's.

The Mosad chief is not impressed. "I am chief of the Mosad," Sh. says, "My rank is equivalent to that of chief of staff. The chief of Aman is just third in the general staff hierarchy. I am senior to him. Now, the chief of the Mosad wants to get his foot into the topic of military research, to take a bite out of Aman's hegemony.

It would be hard to say that the Mosad chief's stand is winning much support. But Sh., very sensitive to his honor, is fighting like a wounded tiger. Sometimes it seems as though Sh. is fighting for the honor of the Mosad, sometimes you get the feeling that he is fighting for his personal standing within the intelligence community.

Over the years, every Mosad chief has left some stamp on the organization. But two Mosad chiefs have especially succeeded in furthering the organization, in lifting it up a step on the ladder. They were both generals who were parachuted to the leadership of the Mosad from the army. Perhaps because they had no personal commitments, were free from preconceptions.

Meir 'Amit changed the Mosad from the domain of a single person into an orderly national organization. In his time, exceptional effort was dedicated to social consolidation. In time that internal environment was created, which became an inseparable part of the mythos. He was the first to begin having unit leader meetings, in total opposition to the opinions of many in the organization.

They said that he was undermining the sacred principle of compartmentation, the heart and soul of any intelligence organization. But 'Amit was willing to give up something of the compartmentation. In its place, he got a special spirit, a special feeling in his men that they belonged. Yitzhak Hofi set up the Mosad's system of training, and put the electronics unit to work.

During Sh.'s term, so it seems today, the Mosad lost something more of the mythos that has followed it over the

years. Despite this, the clandestine organization still wins a great degree of forgiveness, the Simon Templar halo still shines around its head.

The organization has grown over the last few years—budget, manpower, electronics. But it is turning out that the more the size of the organization grows, the smaller its relative weight is within the intelligence community. And the chief of the Mosad is learning the hard way that it is not always size that counts.

Moshe Shahal on Cooperation on Water, Natural Gas

94AA0009C Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT (Weekend Supplement) in Hebrew 22 Oct 93 p 11

[Interview with Energy Minister Moshe Shahal by Gabi Bron; place and date not given]

[Text] Moshe Shahal, with his two ministries, has plenty of work waiting for him in the era of peace that is shaping up. While things connected with the Police Ministry are still in the developmental stages, it seems that those related to energy and infrastructure are ready and waiting to go, and not just since last month. Six years ago, the Energy Ministry drew up extensive development plans, on his instruction. These plans are now suddenly being pulled out of the drawer and are waiting to be carried out. It is possible that some of them may be presented next week, at the conference on "Energy in a Time of Peace" that will be held in Herzlia.

Some of them sound completely fantastic—like the plan to renovate the Tap-line oil pipeline that once ran from Iraq to Haifa via Syria—but this does not keep Shahal from talking about them in very practical terms, and with great enthusiasm: "Even if it seems impossible at first sight, it is just a matter of coming up with an immediate solution to a common problem. The damage to the pipe, which, by the way, was caused mainly by the Arabs, can be repaired with an investment of about 50 million dollars, in the section that leads from Havnia in the Golan Heights, to Haifa. Iraq will gain an outlet for its oil to the Mediterranean, to the European Community, and will not have to worry any more about the Saudi hand always threatening to close the spout of its oil outlet to the Persian Gulf."

[Bron] Cooperation with Iraq? Are we not talking about things that are very far off?

[Shahal] It will come, just as other things have come, despite what you and your colleagues told me back in the time of the National Unity government: "Stop fantasizing." And I should remind you, that was only five years ago!

[Bron] You suddenly find yourself heading two departments that are at the center of diplomatic events. How do you cope with it all?

[Shahal] I have plans, and not just starting from today. Five years ago, I had information that Jordanian Crown Prince Hassan was interested in the project to build a canal to carry water from the Red Sea to the Dead Sea. After the London document was signed, I sent an entire pamphlet to

him. Shimon Peres brought it to him. I said: "Let us go with something out of the ordinary, with a canal that will not be limited by political boundaries, that will be a great symbol of our aspirations for peace." The Jordanian heir-apparent expressed interest and enthusiasm. Preparations were made in both Israel and Jordan by a team of German engineers, and in January 1988, a delegation of Jordanian engineers was scheduled to arrive in Israel. It was all in secret, so that even you, the journalists, would not find out about it. We made all the preparations to greet them at the bridge, and even prepared prospectuses in Arabic for them. But the intifadah broke out, and after two postponements, the visit was finally canceled completely.

[Bron] And now, there is talk not only of a canal for electricity production, but also of water desalinization.

[Shahal] That is exactly it. And it is a shame that the committee that deals with water issues did not get the research statistics, that have been ready for a long time, from us in time. They say that they will be no peace if we do not solve the problem of water. And here, we have a chance to set up a joint project, which according our scientists' calculations, will solve the water problems for the next 20 or 30 years, for Jordan, Israel, and the Palestinians.

Details on the capacity of the canal show that it will be able to desalinize 800 million cubic meters of water per year, while the joint yearly consumption of Israel and the territories is 1.5 billion today. This is an addition of more than 50 percent! The main difficulty has been the need to solve the problem of the rate of evaporation in the Dead Sea. We have found the formula, and I am going to present the topic before the prime minister. This research, you should remember, has been going on since 1990.

[Bron] Now we are hearing that in the realm of energy, Israel has had ties to countries that do not recognize her, since long before the footsteps of peace were apparent. With Indonesia, for example.

[Shahal] We imported two experimental shipments of oil from Indonesia in recent years, and Indonesia definitely can be an interesting country in that realm, since Israel would also give them convenient access to the Mediterranean for their oil. The problem is that the oil from Indonesia has a relatively high wax content, and this means adapting the heating system of the pipeline so that the oil can flow freely. This is an objective problem, just as the distance it would have to be transported from Indonesia is. But the technical problem can also be solved within a month, with just a small investment.

[Bron] And there have also been contacts with a mysterious principedom on the Persian Gulf?

[Shahal] That principedom on the Gulf, which is number two in the world in natural gas production, came to us with the initiative. They told us: "We will give you as much gas as you want, but we want to use you to reach Europe." The principedom does not want to use middlemen, or bring the gas to Israel by pipeline—they want to bring it in tankers to Eilat. They are ready to invest in a gas pipeline from Eilat

to the petrochemical industrial center being planned south of Ashkelon, which can also carry the gas to the Mediterranean and the ports of Europe. Today, with the political problems on the verge of being solved, Israel finds itself suddenly in a central position in the eastern Mediterranean crossroads, as the territory linking the Red Sea and the Mediterranean, with plenty of petroleum products south of it needing a way to reach Europe.

[Bron] This is not the only gas pipeline in question. What about the Egyptian proposal?

[Shahal] Egypt is suggesting a pipeline to us today that will carry natural gas from the desert regions, from Badradin, Abu Sanan, and Abu al-Ha'rdak, to Ashkelon. Part of the pipeline will go under the Mediterranean. For us, this means that we will be able, with the help of the new sources of natural gas, to switch electricity production from coal and crude oil, to gas, and thus halt completely any damage to the environment. If it does look like we will be doing this, we should seriously think of switching the entire electricity production system to gas turbines. Setting up these turbines is faster, two years instead of the seven regular power stations take, and we will be able to link the entire country to the turbines.

[Bron] That is to say that plans for a nuclear power station have left the agenda?

[Shahal] I would not be surprised if a nuclear power station became a topic of regional cooperation in the future. There is simply no station today with the recommended technology. The existing stations have 20- to 30-year-old technologies, and we need to wait for advanced and better technologies at the beginning of the 21st century.

[Bron] The head of the Egyptian fuel administration revealed this week that Egypt would like to set up a refinery jointly with Israel. Is it possible to say that energy ties to Egypt have "jumped up a grade"?

[Shahal] Right, they have contacted us, and there are already first agreements for building a refinery in the Port Sa'id region, which will manufacture distillates for export. The Egyptians want to turn the refinery, which relies on the Port Sa'id harbor, into a world center for trade in kerosene and distillates, similar to the centers in Italy and Rotterdam. They have a large piece of land set aside for it, in the region between Port Sa'id and Alexandria.

What is different here is the openness. In the past, Egypt played down joint economic activities with Israel. Every year, we have sold Egypt distillates and petroleum products worth 70 million or more. The two-way trade existed, but without publicity. About three weeks ago, there was an Egyptian delegation here that summed up the subject of the refinery, and the subject was also brought up at the Rabin-Mubarak talks in Alexandria. The Egyptians feel that they can make trade agreements with Israel openly now, and of course make use of the sources of funding Israel has. They are saying: "You have financiers; let us start building."

[Bron] And in addition to all that, we are also linking Israel's and Egypt's electricity networks?

[Shahal] That is another part of getting rid of the "island syndrome" that Israel has had to live with all these years. As in Europe, joining the electricity networks will supply both sides in times when local demand is low, and back up the electricity networks for both countries. After the link up with Egypt, there will also be one with Jordan. An all this, I believe, is the natural result of the agreement with the Palestinians. Because suddenly, they all understand that relations with Israel should be the same as with any other country in the region, the way it is in Europe. It will no longer be unusual for the prime minister to travel to a meeting in Amman in the morning and come back at noon, or if we feel like it, for us to hop over from Jerusalem to the Jordanian capital in the evening to eat some hummus.

[Bron] And how do the Palestinians fit into the great projects on the way?

[Shahal] The Palestinians are partners in any case, and not because somebody is doing them a favor, but because it is natural. Their people have run the oil industry in the Persian Gulf, and the oil fields in the Arab countries. They have excellent engineers, some have already begun to return home to the territories. They will definitely be able to contribute a great deal. They will also open their electricity network, and sell electricity themselves. In the meanwhile, investment in their independent power stations is great, estimated at a billion dollars, so that in the near future the source for electricity will be in Israel, or perhaps also in Jordan. The ice age in the Near East is over, and those who are criticizing the various projects would also do best to learn to compromise, and adapt themselves to changing times.

Palestinian Industrialist Rejects Ties to Israel

94AA0009D Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT (Financial Supplement) in Hebrew 19 Oct 93 p 6

[Article by Roni Shaqed]

[Text] "We do not want to come out of the occupation and continue to live under Israeli economic patronage, i.e., continue the colonialism. And so we have set conditions for everything related to ties between Israel and Palestinian companies," Ibrahim Salameh, chairman of the Palestine Industrial Council, said very firmly to YEDI'OT AHARONOT. He put words of a similar spirit down in a letter that he sent to Israeli and Palestinian industrialists. Salameh demanded that they not carry out joint ventures without first getting approval from the Palestine Industrial Council.

"Every plan, contract, or deal that has not been approved by the PLO will be considered illegal. And we do not mean only deals with Israelis," Salameh emphasizes. "Any foreign company that wants to do business with us will have to go through us. Economics has no color, religion, or nationality. On principle, we are ready to accept investment from any source, but it is important to us to protect our rights."

The Palestine Industrial Council—which is, in effect, the Palestinian ministry of industry—opened its office in Jerusalem last week. Branches are opening in Hebron,

Nablus, and Gaza. Ibrahim Salameh received his appointment from 'Arafat. "I am in daily contact with President 'Arafat. He is interested in economic matters, and wants to further industry in the territories," Salameh says. In the meantime, he is taking the first steps through his ministry. He has already made a list of all the Palestinian industrial plants in the territories.

The Palestinians apparently are afraid that the Israeli economy is going to swallow them up. For this reason, they have decided that all joint ventures will have to be approved by the PLO leadership. "Because of the fear that Israel will take over the economy in the territories, the PLO has decided that most of our activity will be with Jordan, including plants under joint ownership," Salameh explains.

One of the first plants that Jordanian and Palestinian financiers are planning to set up together is a large tomato paste factory in the Jordan Valley. "We have lots of tomatoes. It is a product greatly in demand, and there are financiers in Jordan who have already offered to participate. The proposal has already been approved," Salameh says.

Ibrahim Salameh explains that the decision to strengthen economic ties to Jordan is meant to help build up Palestinian industrial exports to the Arab world. "Jordan has trade agreements with all the Arab countries. The Jordanians know the economy in the territories, and this is our natural market. Exports from the territories to Jordan, or through Jordan, come to about \$300 million a year," Salameh says, and explains that "the State of Palestine has so far signed mutual trade agreements only with Yemen and Sudan."

This week, Ibrahim Salameh's office received more than 20 faxes from Israeli companies expressing their desire to work together. For the time being, the letters are being stored in a special file, labeled "Proposals for Israeli-Palestinian Cooperation." Copies of the letters have been sent to the offices of 'Arafat and Abu 'Ala, the finance minister to be, in Tunis.

The Telrad telephone company has already let Salameh know that it is prepared to open a production line on the West Bank. Kibbutz Hahorshim's Thermokir company for industrial construction is also prepared to transfer a production line to the territories. Computer and electronics companies are waiting to set up practical talks.

Salameh visited Tel Aviv once or twice last week for meetings with Israeli industrialists. He is aided in these contacts by an Israeli spokesman, Hosam Nashaf from Kafr Taybe in the Arab-populated area in the north, who knows Israeli industry, and, as he says, "also the Jewish mentality." Nashaf was appointed spokesman, but his fluency in Hebrew and his negotiating skill have turned him into the Palestinian liaison officer for Israeli industry.

What industry are you talking about?

Ibrahim Salameh: We are preparing three industrial zones: in Nablus, Hebron, and Gaza. In Hebron, we are negotiating to buy 1,800 dunams of land to turn into a modern industrial park.

Our intention is to create labor-intensive industry in order to overcome the unemployment problem. We have plans in the drawer for 320 industrial plants. Saudi Arabia is prepared to invest in the production of plastics and food-stuffs, and irrigation equipment. Financiers in Jordan are prepared to invest in food and textile production. I am not talking about baking biscuits. I mean real modern manufacturing."

Hammer on NRP's Fiscal Problems, Peace Talks

94AA0011A Tel Aviv HA'OLAM HAZE in Hebrew
27 Oct 93 pp 11, 16

[Interview with NRP (National Religious Party) Knesset member Zevulun Hammer by Dov Goldstein; place and date not given]

[Text] This week, nine days before the municipal elections, the National Religious Party [NRP] center on I Pinkus Street in Tel Aviv seems like an abandoned building. The rooms are deserted, the corridors yawn. One lone watchman, who is both security guard and information officer, looks in wonder around the empty space, and remembers the days when the "Kastel," as the NRP center was called for so many years, teemed with life.

This is the fate of an opposition party. Nobody storms its ministers asking for money or for political appointments in government or public companies. The party has nothing to give. Sitting in the opposition is, for the NRP, an almost unknown phenomenon. Since the State was founded, the party in its various incarnations has been a partner in every government, except for a short time of withdrawal in 1977—and has always been richly rewarded.

Life in the opposition has also taken the wind out of the sails of the internal struggles within the party. The great storms that shook the party for many long years have subsided. The young people no longer tail after the leadership of the veterans. Many members of the oriental communities have found themselves another party framework to express their aspirations. The voice of the compromisers, who oppose the party's rightist path and political extremism, has become almost silent.

Still, in Zevulun Hammer's spacious, air-conditioned office, I did not find a man who was depressed or bitter. On the contrary, Hammer, sharp and clear as usual, believes with all his heart that this exile to the opposition is only a temporary decree, and that his party's great Zionist message will still pave the path for it to have influence and participate in the government.

Although just 57 (he looks good after the heart attack he had 10 years ago, and he is very careful to live a healthy life) Hammer is one of the most veteran politicians in Israel. For a good 25 years, he has been a mainstay in the Knesset. For about 16 of them, he served as minister.

[Goldstein] What is it like being a former minister—depressing, frustrating?

[Hammer] I loved being a minister. I especially loved the job of education minister. I served in that senior post for nine years. It was exciting. The other years, I was Minister of Religions, and Minister of Social Affairs. To return to the status of Knesset member, of opposition member, and be involved in presenting parliamentary questions that I already answered endlessly when I was a minister, is, of course, a little less riveting. It does not involve making decisions, deciding how to proceed, and acting. It is a little frustrating. But the truth is, that when it became clear to me that I would no longer be a cabinet minister, I thought it was going to be worse than it has really turned out to be. After so many years of exhausting work and long hours, there is even a feeling of being free from the yoke, a sort of breathing space.

[Goldstein] That depends on you. The longer you are not a minister, the longer you will enjoy the feeling of being free!

[Hammer] Let us not exaggerate. Everything in its own time. All I wanted to say was that I am not someone who is easily depressed. I am still a young man, and I have enough optimism to believe in my future.

[Goldstein] Is there still a fight, as there has been every year, for the leadership of your party, or are you accepted now as leader by all segments of the party?

[Hammer] Apparently, more than anyone else in the party, I am accepted today by most of the members as someone who reflects its path and can unite it. If there is someone in the party who is living with the feeling that he would like to, and can, lead it in my place—that is always a possibility.

[Goldstein] In the past, the NRP would just laugh at the idea that it could survive in the opposition, and said that it must be a member of the government. How is it that you have been in the opposition for 15 months already? You are still surviving, without budgets, without offices, without any benefits that come from being part of the government?

[Hammer] Once we were distinctly a political movement, that put political interests ahead of its principles. Now our members are complaining that we have turned into a youth movement. All or nothing. As though we have lost the ability to compromise to become partners in the government.

Something interesting has happened here. What power does to people...in the past, the various components of MERETZ—Mapam, Shinui, and Ratz—were youth groups, whose principles were absolutely clear, and it never joined any government, unless the government agreed to do exactly what the platform of this youth movement insisted it do.

The moment it joined the government, MERETZ turned into a political movement whose physical interests were at the head of the scale, and everything else was pushed aside, either by accepting compromise, or accepting the verdict.

How the songs have changed! MERETZ has been turned from a youth group into a political party, and we have turned from a political party into a youth group. A youth group has that kind of ascetic nature. It is ready to pass up benefits as long as it does not have to give up any principles.

[Goldstein] Does it seem right to you for adults to behave like apprentices in a youth group?

[Hammer] It is not exactly a question of whether it is wise or not. On the Israeli political landscape, we are a special kind of party. The NRP is a small party in the Knesset, but a giant party, with nothing to compare to it, when it comes to our educational and Judaic institutions.

We have the potential voters for two or three times, or even more, than our present strength in the Knesset. Why has this great potential not been expressed at the ballot box—that is another question.

What we are trying to do now is to establish the NRP's status as a clean party, who's principles dictate its political path. That requires living according to principles and not selling them out for a bowl of pottage. That takes a high price.

[Goldstein] What do the heads of the yeshivas say, and the directors of the national school system, and the religious and Judaic institutions that you run, have to say?

Are they willing to have you carry on the struggle as an idealistic youth movement on their backs and at their expense?

[Hammer] They are suffering. They are groaning under growing financial hardship. Only someone close to the pot gets a really good portion. Many of our members are feeling the pinch, and even warning us that they cannot stand up under the pressure much longer. You will find some of the very best people among them: principals of the Hesder yeshivas, rabbis in our Bet Midrash, directors of the special institutions that only we run, that prepare our young people for leadership positions in the IDF [Israel Defense Forces].

National-religious education is also in a more and more difficult situation. Here too, there is a sense of being choked, suffocated. and you must remember that about 250,000 children, approximately 20 percent of all the pupils in the State, study in national-religious educational institutions.

[Goldstein] And in contrast, SHAS [Torah Observing Sephardim] gets everything it requires for its educational needs and its religious institutions?

[Hammer] Partners in the government will always be received with a generous hand and a friendly eye. You must remember, also, that in all the SHAS institutions put together, of all types and for all age groups, especially the kindergartens, there are only about 10,000 pupils studying. You understand the connection?

SHAS is not a youth movement. It is a political party. There is a direct connection there, permanent and binding,

between the party and its institutions. The institutions need money, the party participates in the government, and supplies them with what they need.

[Goldstein] I hear in your voice some note of criticism of your party, which prefers principles, as you say, over taking financial allocations and supplying the needs of the educational institutions?

[Hammer] No, not criticism. Acceptance. It is not easy to stand up under this burden, but I truly believe that this path will bring us more voters, and more political power in the future, than if we had put worrying about our institutions above holding onto our principles. A party that was choking financially, losing the ability to care for its fine educational system, would have to join the government to get the money it needed. But, we still have time to breathe.

[Goldstein] The older, veteran party members apparently do not have that kind of time to breathe. Doctors Wahrhaftig and Burg are pushing you to join the government. What are you answering them, and others in the party, who feel the way they do?

[Hammer] Many good people in the party feel that our responsibility for our educational and Judaic institutions is what should tip the scale. To avoid our being pushed to the sidelines, they recommend, even demand, that we compromise on principles, that we end the exile and return to the government.

I have great personal respect for Burg and Wahrhaftig, but they are carrying in their hearts the memory of the old NRP, which was a member of almost every government. That was another era. With other youth. With other aspirations. With another scale of values.

[Goldstein] Can the NRP can be a partner today only in a Likud government? Is this a decree that cannot be changed?

[Hammer] It is not a decree and not a command from heaven. The agreements that the government signed with the PLO, both the mutual recognition and the Gaza First agreement, and after it the autonomy agreement, have created a new situation. The lot has fallen. It is impossible to ignore that. If we shouted from all the rooftops that these agreements must not be signed, and demanded that they be nullified, it would do no good. That is not a serious possibility.

The only thing that makes sense now is to fight for the things that have not yet been decided. To the question of whether we are ready to become partners in the government, there is only one clear test: will we be able to influence the government about what has still not been decided.

So, first of all it does not really depend only on us. The left does not want us; and on this matter, that does not mean only MERETZ, but also considerable parts of the Labor Party, that also do not want us. They are much more comfortable with a partner, how should I say it....

[Goldstein] Maybe you should just say: with a religious partner that is anti-Zionist, and that feels that money and

offices and appointments, and educational and religious institutions, are more important than the Land of Israel?

[Hammer] I would prefer to say: with a pragmatic partner, which does what the leftist government requests of it and does not put too many great obstacles in the way of its realizing its path.

And the path is clear even if they are still trying to disguise it. There is a distinct readiness today among many segments of the partners making up the majority bloc—the Labor Party, MERETZ, and the ultra-Orthodox party—to follow the dangerous path to the end. Even retreating to the 1949 borders, and even agreeing to creation of a Palestinian state. This is a developing process, and it is not Yitzhak Rabin who is the leading force, and not even Shimon Peres; it is deputy foreign minister, Dr. Yosi Beilin, and others who share his views, who are taking the lead.

[Goldstein] If the left changed its stand and was ready for you to join the government, would they find you willing to join?

[Hammer] Yes. We have not obligated ourselves to remain in the opposition, and it is not easy for us to keep going under these conditions, but our joining the coalition would depend on two interrelated conditions. First, that we have the sense that we are truly wanted and can have influence from within. Second, that there be a readiness on the part of the other coalition partners to fight together with us for what we see as vital for Israel's survival, among the things that have still not been decided.

[Goldstein] Has the Labor Party made any attempts recently to get you into the government?

[Hammer] There have been some feelers put out from various directions.

[Goldstein] If so, what are the principles of your program now that the agreement with the PLO has been signed? What do you want to fight for?

[Hammer] Defining it generally: against the threat a Palestinian state would create for our survival. This is a great struggle, a struggle that will require consolidating a joint plan, with these main points:

There will be municipal Palestinian autonomy in Gaza, Judea, and Samaria, not an unbroken continuum of Palestinian autonomy. There will be pockets of autonomy in the large Arab cities and their close environs.

Dr. Henry Kissinger and many others as well, interpreted autonomy that way, when they concluded that it was the solution to the Palestinian problem. There would not be a single, undivided Palestinian territory. Just pockets of autonomy. Balancing the pockets of Palestinian autonomy, there would be blocks of Jewish settlements, not just pinheads in the heart of the Palestinian autonomy.

[Goldstein] But there is no hope that the Palestinians will accept such a limited plan, and if Israel shows such an intention, it will start the blood feud all over again, and end all compromise.

[Hammer] I am aware that this plan would be unacceptable to the Palestinians, or that it would create obstacles for the negotiation process, but....

[Goldstein] Not be acceptable! It would blow up the negotiations and burn up in a moment all the agreements that have been achieved.

[Hammer] Perhaps. Perhaps. But we are fighting for our home, for the only home we have. Why are the interests of the Palestinians more important in our eyes than our interests?

[Goldstein] Now I understand what you meant when you said that the left does not want you as partners in the government.

[Hammer] Yes. They do not want us. They have pushed us outside, and they want us to stay out. I can understand the argument that Israel should not rule over another nation against its will, but the left does not show any understanding at all of our argument that must prevent the founding of a Palestinian state.

If there were agreement on preventing the founding of a Palestinian state, we would try to convince Rafi that Tzomet should also join the government together with us. Tzomet and we have developed strong ties of cooperation, which will have long-ranging influence, as time passes, on political life in the state.

[Goldstein] That means that for the near future both you and Rafi will continue to fill a very important national role: you will serve the people and democracy as members of the opposition.

[Hammer] Apparently. Apparently. We have to learn to live with it.

[Goldstein] You have come very far from your original mission: as a Zionist party that recognizes all the responsibilities of a citizen to its government, you were the bridge that brought together religious and secular people in Israel. Now you have left the arena to SHAS, an anti-Zionist ultra-Orthodox party. Have you given up your original mission?

[Hammer] This is painful for me and it is heartbreaking for me. It is hard for me to describe it to you. To be a minister, not to be one...it is not that I am indifferent, but I can live with it. Either receive money for our educational institutions, or be constantly short of money and in financial distress—it is painful, but I can wrestle with it.

But this that we—Zionists who are loyal to the State and accept its authority—we are outside, and our wonderful young people in the settlements are mocked and insulted, and called an obstacle to peace; while others—I have to control my language—others, who are anti-Zionists, who see IDF service as something for sinners, and believe that democracy is a curse that should be removed from the world—they are the trusted partners, they are inside...how that hurts me....

IRAN

Kurdish Leader Kidnapped During Visit to Turkey

93AE0610B London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic
30 Aug p 1

[Unattributed article: "In Ankara, Assassination of Azarbaijani Opposed to Tehran; Kurdish-Iranian Official Kidnapped During Visit To Turkey"]

[Text] Turkish police sources confirmed yesterday that armed gunmen accused by some circles of working for Tehran, two days ago had assassinated an Azarbaijani Iranian citizen with anti-Tehran political leanings and kidnapped an Iranian Kurdish opposition leader.

The sources said that the assassinated Iranian Azarbaijani was Behran Azdafr, who sought asylum in Turkey last January. On the other hand, the Kurdish Iranian leader was Husayn Ardlan, who apparently was kidnapped on the Ankara-Istanbul road. Reasons for Ardlan's visit to Turkey are not yet clear; however, unconfirmed reports say that he entered Turkey from northern Iraq several weeks ago with the aim of contacting groups opposed to Tehran in Ankara and Istanbul.

Azdafr was assassinated by two Persian-speaking gunmen, who opened fire from two machine guns as he entered a hotel lobby with two friends, one of whom was wounded while the other remains in critical condition.

Iranian-Style Revolution Called Unfit for Other Countries

93AE0597A London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic
7 Sep 93 p 6

[Article by Ja'far Ra'id: "Mirage of Emulating Iranian Revolution"]

[Text] The Iranian revolution has tempted many to emulate it, but those tempted have failed abysmally. They have raised similar slogans; created similar movements; and used similar methods. But all this has not helped them accomplish what they desire. They have filled the world with clamor and they have kicked up a thick cloud of dust. But what they got out of all this is nothing but failure. We wish they would stop at this point. They have gone far beyond, inflicting countless disasters on their people, leaving behind numerous victims and immense devastation, scattering families, and dragging their countries decades backward. Now, their countries' conditions are much worse than they used to be.

The disasters that Algeria has experienced and that it continues to experience are an example of the situation that can develop when one thinks in the fashion of the Iranian revolution.

Whoever considers emulating the revolutionary line of the Islamic Republic of Iran must realize that Iran, with its history, geographic location, and the developments it has experienced throughout thousands of years, is a unique model and a breed apart and that whoever tries to follow

its footsteps makes a big mistake and will face countless problems with which one can dispense.

A prominent ancient Iranian poet said: "People have been destroyed by their emulation of others. A thousand curses upon such emulation." What the poet meant by emulation is the imitation of others blindly and thoughtlessly.

Iran itself has now become convinced that its revolution is not an exportable commodity and that others' circumstances are not similar to Iran's circumstances in any way.

Iran's geographic climate combines contrasts rarely matched in other parts of the world.

Intertwined high mountains surround the Iranian plateau like a bracelet. Some of them are so barren and smooth they look like walls rising to the sky and some are volcanic, such as Damavand and Sahand. Damavand is the world's second highest peak after Everest. But Iran is not all mountains. It has barren deserts similar to the Empty Quarter [Saudi Arabia].

As many rivers as Iran has, none of them is like the Nile, the Tigris, or the Euphrates in size, abundance of water, length of course, or in offerings and blessings that these rivers bring and bestow. Moreover, most parts of Iran do not get much rain.

In the cold regions of Iran, fuel was as scarce as water before the discovery of oil. Only southern Iran is warm. Azerbaijan's severe winter matches Russia's winter in harshness. It penetrates one's bones and settles there.

Of all climates in God's lands, Iran's is the most varied. The climate of the central and southern regions is similar to that of the Arab Peninsula. Some of these regions are hot and dry, some hot and humid, and some beautifully moderate. The Caspian Sea coastline is rainy most of the time, like some regions of Europe and India. But the northeast and the northwest, i.e., the regions adjacent to the countries that have broken away from the former Soviet Union, are as similar as can be to these countries. The same ethnic groups inhabit both sides of the border in these regions. They have the same customs and traditions and the same languages and dialects.

This variety and difference in the Iranian environment has had the profoundest impact on all of Iran's economic, social, and political affairs. Iran is the meeting place of opposites in numerous areas. Even animals and wildlife are included in this characteristic. Iran contains most animal life of the cold regions and hot regions. It has the one-hump camel and the two-hump camel, and it has lions and wild wolves. The same goes for bird and fish life. Even minerals in Iran are numerous and varied.

Among the population, one finds fair-skinned, light-skinned, and dark-skinned people and people with black eyes and green eyes, as well as tall, medium, and short people. This is a general summary about the nature of Iran's land, its climate, and their variations.

At the historical and social levels, it is worth noting that nearly 4,000 years ago waves of Aryan tribes proceeded eastward from the Black Sea shores and then descended

southward to the plateau, which was called Iran later. This is the plateau described briefly earlier.

The Aryan invasion of the Iranian plateau occurred in phases and in two directions: one coming from the eastern Caspian Sea to the region that became known in history by the name of the "land beyond the river" and Khorrasan and one from the western Caspian Sea to the region known now by the name of Azerbaijan and Kurdistan. It was not easy to gain control of the rugged plateau, considering that it was inhabited by people who were more civilized and advanced than the new invaders. The Aryans engaged in successive wars with those inhabitants until they gained the upper hand. They then borrowed from the inhabitants their civilization, including the means of reading and writing.

When the invading Aryan tribes settled down in their new home, each of them began to establish its own system of government in the region under its control, and then embarked on a ceaseless conflict with its neighbors. Wars also flared up from time to time between those Aryan tribes and their neighbors to the east and to the west. In the east, wars flared up with the Chinese, the Turkomen, and the Moguls. In the west, wars broke out with the successive states that emerged in Asia Minor (present-day Turkey) and in Iraq. The parties to those wars fought each other with alternate success.

Those wars were rarely free of devastation and annihilation. For example, the royal palace of the Achaemenid, near the (present-day) city of Shiraz, was burned down. The ruins of this palace are known by the name of Persepolis these days. The story of how this palace was burned is one of history's most famous stories, and it has been the subject of numerous movies.

The more murderous and destructive tribes invaded from the east. Mogul tribes swarmed into Iran like locusts in successive periods. Three Mogul commanders became famous in history, namely Genghis Khan, Tamerlane, and Hulagu, the commander who occupied Baghdad and eliminated the Abbasid Caliphate.

Iran bore the brunt of the burning, killing, and devastation inflicted by the Mogul invasions. Those invasions lessened in intensity when they reached the regions overlooking Iraq. Rarely did that invading and destructive flood of human masses reach Baghdad or Damascus. If it so happened that the invasion crossed Iraq to Syria and Egypt, it was defeated and turned back there, except on very rare occasions, such as when Tamerlane (i.e., Timur the Lame) occupied Egypt, on top of Iran, Iraq, Syria, Turkey, and Russia.

The yellow scourge was most ruthless and brutal when it penetrated Iran's veins and arteries. It was then most like a flood that swept everything in its way. Citadels and fortresses fell one after the other in its way, and cities and villages were totally annihilated.

Iran is a country that has been destined to suffer from time to time from starvation and from the lack of money, men, and crops.

This condition was not confined to past centuries, but has extended to the modern age. In the 18th and 19th centuries, the Russians pressured Iran from the north and the Dutch, and then the British, pressured it from the east and the south, stripping away parts of the country whenever they could do it.

In the two world wars, Iran was subjected to occupation by the allies—an occupation that left behind its negative material and moral consequences.

Wars are not the only thing from which the Iranian people have suffered throughout their history. Rather, droughts, famines, epidemics, floods, and earthquakes are also among the catastrophes that have afflicted them like scourges descending upon them from heaven every now and then to decimate them.

Add to this the oppression of rulers who vied in gouging out eyes, piling up hills of severed heads, and in startling kinds of torture.

Tribal, sectarian, and ethnic rancors, plus the madness of oppression and arrogance, spread terror most actively and destroyed man's civilization. As a result of all these successive catastrophes, the Iranian people have been and continue to be one of the region's peoples who are driven most to homelessness and emigration. Wherever one goes in the countries neighboring Iran, one finds thousands, tens of thousands, or hundreds of thousands of Iranians who have immigrated to these countries and made them their homelands.

In the Caucasus and beyond the river to the north; in Turkey and in Iraq to the west; on the Arab Peninsula coastline to the south; and in the Indian sub-continent to the east, one finds thousands of Iranian families that have immigrated to and settled in these parts.

It is not to neighboring countries alone that Iranians go. Some Iranians have chosen very distant places in which to settle, such as China, Africa, Europe, and the United States recently. In this regard, Iranians are like the Lebanese.

These unsettled natural and social conditions have left their deep effects on the Iranian people's psyche, thinking, and living ways. A most significant effect is the tendency of Iranians to take flight into a world of imagination that is divorced from the tangible reality. This phenomenon is evident in the people's religious beliefs and social movements and in Persian literature, especially Persian poetry.

Strong adherence to the transcendental is one of the Iranian society's most prominent manifestations. In this regard, Iranians are very similar to the Indian people. This is not surprising, considering that India has always been exposed to nature's wrath and to the ambitions of strong foes beyond the border.

There are thousands of shrines in Iran. Except for the few that are built on the graves of well-known ulema and leaders of Sufi brotherhoods, the rest are dedicated to men and women, and at times children, of the prophet's house, may God's peace be upon them.

What is truly strange in this regard is that some of these shrines are built on illusions, as in the case when an Iranian dreamed that he saw in his sleep a member of the prophet's house sitting or standing at a certain place. News of the dream traveled as fast as lightning to his village people, and they hastened to build a shrine at the mentioned site. Such shrines are ordinarily built by villages that have no shrines with which to compete against other villages that do have them and which boast of their shrines. Stories of miracles and other supernatural events spread immediately from a new shrine. Simple folk flock to a new shrine very eagerly in the hope that they will get from it what they have not gotten from other shrines, such as having their wishes met or their pains palliated.

A few weeks ago, riots nearly broke out in a small town called Mubarakkeh, near Esfahan, where an old woman claimed that she had seen with her own eyes the head of Imam al-Husayn rise high from within her clay oven that she had lit to bake her bread and that her miraculous bread flew to all parts of the village. People rushed to the place and security was lost in the town. This compelled the government authorities concerned to dispatch a force to the town to destroy the miracle house. This incident did not pass without victims and it had its reverberations at the domestic and foreign levels.

If we examine Iran's history, we will find that the wave of interest in the supernatural gains in strength and sweeps Iran whenever the Iranians are visited by enormous catastrophes that they cannot endure. For example, Sufi brotherhoods proliferated greatly in Iran in eras when the yellow Mogul scourge swept the country like a tempestuous flood, destroying its towns and villages and burning everything in its way. The Mogul invasions of Iran lasted nearly an entire century (from the middle of the 12th century to the middle of the thirteenth century). Other invasions followed in successive periods and waves.

When the oppression of Western colonialism intensified in our Islamic region in recent centuries, new religious movements emerged in Iran. Moreover, Sufi brotherhoods increased in number and the influence of ulama grew in an extraordinary manner. It is no coincidence that the Qadiyaniyah (al-Ahmadiyah) surfaced simultaneously in India [as published]. Moreover, new life was injected into the Ismaili Movement. The leaders of both movements are from Iranian extraction.

Since very ancient times, leaders of the Iranian people's spiritual life have been the most influential class in society. The Iranian revolution has relied on this mythically deep and strong background, which gave it overwhelming social momentum that exceeded in dimension the momentum of the French Revolution, especially since the Iranian revolution has been distinguished by the unity of the spiritual and political leaderships. This fact has enabled the Iranian revolution to sweep away the currents that have impeded its path and to plant its feet firmly. These unique advantages are missing in the movements here and there that seek to emulate the Iranian revolution. So it is not surprising that none of these movements has succeeded to date.

Azerbaijani Official Reveals Agreement

93AE0610A London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic
9 Sep 93 p 4

[Article by Sami 'Amarah: "Aliyev Reveals Agreement With Iran and Speaks About Russia's Priority Relations"]

[Text] Geydar Aliyev, charge d'affaires to the Azerbaijani president and parliamentary chief, revealed an agreement with Iran on admitting 10,000 Iranians into the area contiguous to the Azerbaijan-Iranian border to take part in establishing the camps needed to accommodate 100,000 refugees forced by Armenian aggression to migrate from their homelands.

Responding to AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT's query about relations with Iran, Turkey, and Russia, Aliyev said that in his capacity as charge d'affaires to the president and as parliamentary chief, he had called for the establishment of stable relations with each of these countries and stressed the "impossibility of granting priority to any one of them."

On the subject of altering the policy adopted by former president Abulfaz Elchibey concerning the priority of the tie to Turkey, Aliyev said that this policy "was established in the past but cannot continue."

He pointed out the strengthening of relations with Russia "cannot inflict any harm on the relationship with Turkey, in view of the fact that such relations are characterized by a tinge of universality that aspires primarily to Azerbaijan's interests without, naturally, harming neighboring countries' interests."

On the matter of Iranian troops crossing Azerbaijani borders in the Aras Dam area of Nakhichevan, Aliyev said that he was unaware of such, and pointed out that he "could not confirm or deny this information."

He added that relations with Iran were "good," and that Iran had taken upon itself the establishment of camps to accommodate refugees and offered food and medical aid. This has been confirmed by news from Baku on the signature of an agreement on this matter during the visit of an Iranian Interior Ministry delegation to Azerbaijan.

Geydar Aliyev visited Moscow at its request and met President Yeltsin, Prime Minister Victor Chernomyrdin, Minister of Defense General Pavel Grachev, Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev, and a number of other Russian officials.

The Azerbaijani leader's talks in the Russian capital dealt with the issue of normalization of bilateral relations, affiliation with the Commonwealth of Independent States, and the collective security treaty.

On the subject of the central problem facing Azerbaijan, that of upper Karabakh and the Armenian troops' occupation of 20 percent of his nation's territory, Aliyev called for the need to hasten a solution by peaceful means, emphasizing the danger of internationalizing the struggle, the need for Russia to abandon its current stance, and intervention to solve the problem.

Chief Editor Insults Chief of Judiciary, Faces Prison

93AE0611A London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic
30 Aug 93 p 4

[Unattributed article: "KEYHAN Chief Editor Faces Possible Prison, on Charge of Insulting Iranian Chief of Judiciary"]

[Text] London and Tehran—Sources in Tehran confirmed yesterday that the chief of the largest Iranian daily newspaper faces the possibility of imprisonment for a period of five years on the charge of insulting the country's chief of judiciary.

Arrested midnight Wednesday was Mehdi Nasiri, executive and chief editor of KEYHAN, Iran's most widely distributed newspaper. He was led from his residence by the Revolution Guard, but released Friday on bail.

The Revolution Guard also broke into Nasiri's office and took possession of part of its contents. The official charge leveled at Nasiri is that his paper insulted Mohammad Yazdi, a 52-year-old religious leader who holds the position of chief of judiciary in Iran.

It is known that Yazdi is a political ally of Republic President Hashemi-Rafsanjani and a prominent right-wing religious leader among those who believe in the need to end the revolution phase.

KEYHAN had continued to launch attacks calling for continuation of the Khomeyni revolutionary line, and raised queries and suspicions about Yazdi's qualifications for the position of Iran's chief of judiciary.

Yesterday, Yazdi came under severe criticism from Mohammad Musavi Kho'iniha, owner and publisher of SALAM newspaper. Kho'iniha spoke of the kidnapping Friday of his chief editor 'Abbas 'Abdi and blamed Yazdi for "lack of respect for the rule of law," adding that 'Abdi's arrest was an operation that was "totally illegal and contradictory to the precepts of Islamic law".

From a theoretical standpoint, Kho'iniha may be brought to trial pursuant to the same law that was utilized to accuse Nasiri. Kho'iniha, a religious leader, was for years a very close confidant of Khomeyni. He had assumed the position of attorney general of the revolution, and thus was

privy to the files of all influential religious leaders. He also has found favor with Ahmad al-Khomeini.

A spokesman for the chief of judiciary said yesterday that Kho'iniha would shortly appear before the revolution court to face a number of "serious charges." The spokesman said that numerous complaints had been lodged against Kho'iniha, among which was one tendered by ex-Education Minister Mohammad 'Ali Najafi and another by Naser Va'ez Tabasi, son of the religious leader responsible for the endowment funds of Imam al-Rida in Khorasan, whose worth amounted to several billion dollars.

In a related development, the [Seyyed] 'Ali Khamene'i-published newspaper JOMHOURI ISLAMI launched a vitriolic attack on 'Abdi yesterday. In a published report it said that the SALAM chief editor was "in constant contact with terrorist groups."

At any rate, Kho'iniha's arrest, should it actually have taken place, would set the precedent for the start of a declared war between the hardliners and the "moderates" under Rafsanjani's leadership.

It appears that Kho'iniha's resorting to harsh and pitiless expression in describing Yazdi signifies his desire for direct confrontation.

Kho'iniha and 'Abdi were the most prominent leaders of the "students" who seized the American Embassy in Tehran in 1979 and detained 52 diplomats as hostages for 444 days. Reasons for 'Abdi's arrest are as yet unclear, as SALAM newspaper has continued to criticize Rafsanjani for three years running.

Following the presidential elections last June, SALAM wrote that the low voter turnout and the decreased level of support for Rafsanjani was proof that his policies have not garnered any significant popularity.

However, sources in Tehran said yesterday that 'Abdi's arrest took place because SALAM was the only newspaper that had published news of religious opposition leader Montazeri and his transfer to hospital in Tehran. SALAM had also written that Security Minister 'Ali Fallahian had entered the hospital, where Montazeri was reposing, to confirm firsthand that the latter would not take advantage of his stay in Tehran to contact individuals opposed to the regime.

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